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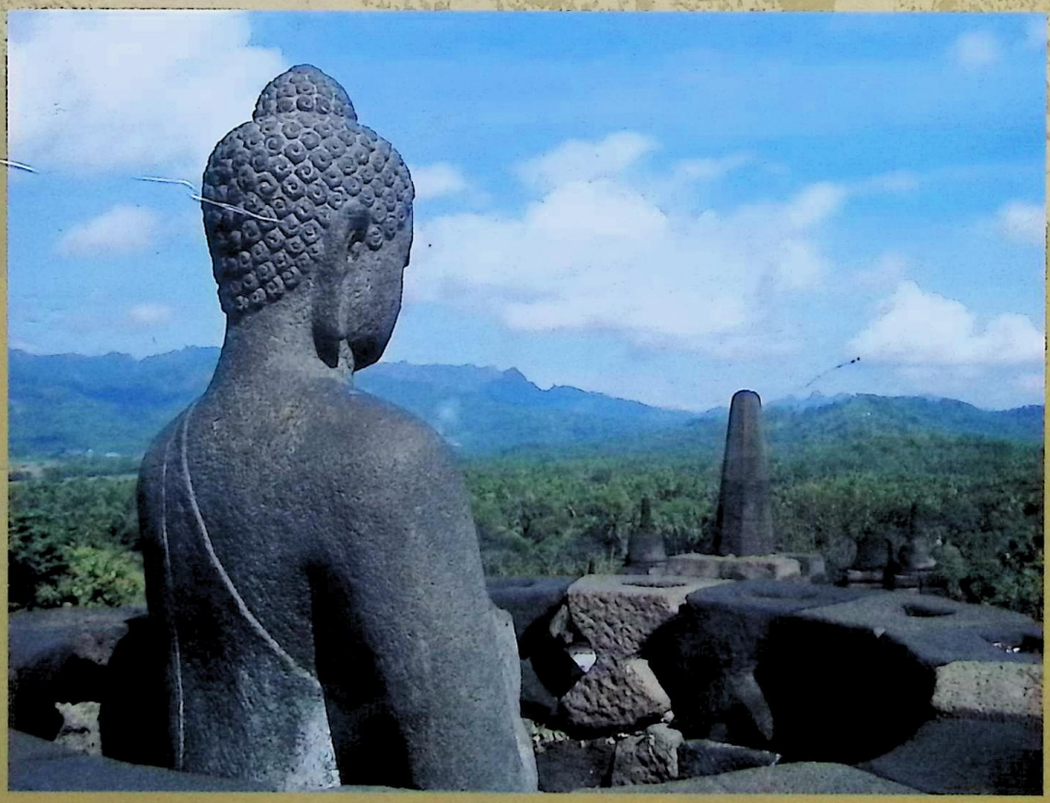

Essays in Honour of

Professor Lokesh Chandra

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Prof. Lokesh Chandra

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FROM BEYOND THE EASTERN HORIZON

Essays in honour of Professor Lokesh Chandra

editor
ManjuShree

ADITYA PRAKASHAN, NEW DELHI

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First published: 2011

Cover image, courtesy: Mark Long

ISBN 978-81-7742-109-5

Published by Aditya Prakashan, 2/18, Ansari Road, New Delhi – 110002.
email: contact@adityaprakashan.com
website: www.adityaprakashan.com

Printed at Rajkamal Electric Press, Delhi.

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ŚATA-PIṬAKA SERIES

INDO-ASIAN LITERATURES
Volume 638

Reproduced in original scripts and languages
Translated, annotated and critically evaluated by
specialists of the East and the West

Founded by
Prof. RAGHUVIRA *M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. et Phil.*
Continued by his son
Prof. LOKESH CHANDRA *M.A., D.Litt.*

आचार्य—रघुवीर—समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां
(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति—साहित्य—समुच्चय—
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

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Foreword

It is a matter of great pleasure that a felicitation volume for Prof. Lokesh Chandra is being brought out on his entering his 84th birthday which in the Hindu tradition makes him *Sahasra Candradarśi*, a person who has lived through a thousand full moons. During his long and academically outstanding career, Prof. Lokesh Chandra has emerged as perhaps the greatest expert on Buddhist iconography in modern times. He has written a whole series of books, beautifully illustrated, setting forth the historical and philosophical context of Buddhist painting and sculpture. He has in particular studied the cultural traditions of Indonesia which was in ancient times known as the *Suvarṇabhūmi*, the Golden Land.

I have personally known Dr. Lokesh Chandra for several decades, and have always been impressed by his erudition, articulation and depth of knowledge. On this auspicious occasion I send him my warm personal greetings and express the wish that he will reach the next milestone — his *Śatābadi* — in good health and continued intellectual activity.

Dr. Karan Singh
President Indian Council for Cultural Relations

7 September, 2010

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Preface

**"Following in the footprints of sages of a hundred past generations
I sow the beautiful seed for thousands of years to come", I-tsing.**

It was in the year 1935 that an eight year old Lokesh Chandra walked along with his father through the galleries of the Central Museum, Lahore. He wondered and asked what in the silence of the stone statues beheld his father's attention. His father counter-questioned him, "do these images not converse with you?" When they reached home his father, Prof. RaghuVira gave him *The Buddha Story in Stone* by H. Hargreaves (Calcutta 1924), a booklet of just forty-three pages which narrated the scenes on thirty-four Gandhāra sculptures in the Lahore Museum. He found a challenge to see statuary, no longer from the outside but from within: *une vie d'analyse pour une heure de synthèse*. Thus began the transcendent journey nurtured and shared by the father and son, that permeated its essence in a timeless construct of thoughts and reflections and initiated the ardent oneness of the learner with the learned in contemplative ecstasy, emboldening the lotus mind to pursue from within *the beyond*. An oblique reminder of the miraculous emanation of an eight year old Padmasambhava endowed with all knowledge, seated on a lotus, encircled by rainbow auras, when brought to the court of Indrabhūti, he made known,"My father is Wisdom. My mother is Voidness. Mine is the country of Dharma. I am sustained by clarity and perplexity."

The treasures of the Śaṭapiṭaka with more than six hundred volumes, manuscripts, scrolls and *lontar*s, throbbing with life and inspiration, present an animated narrative of our culture steadfast through centuries in diverse lands. Prof. Lokesh Chandra sits in this colossal library; a magnificent testimony to the unwavering perseverance spanning two generations of father and son. The usage of the word *culture* is derived from the word *colere* meaning to till the soil, but to them both it implied the cultivation of *pāramitā*, the aesthetic perfection. There were times when the library corridors reverberated with their eager voices, engrossed in the pursuit of knowledge and evolution of ideas. And now, at times one hears him conversing with himself and in that single moment of the profound innumerable, manifold realms exist laden with peerless wisdom emerging from the plenitude of *his* creative void. He has been his own lamp, his own refuge, transliterating myriad hues enriching the warps and wefts of the *conscious*, that illumine the path in quest of ever anew interpretations in the belief that the Eternal is value and the New is meaning. Amidst the abounding legacy, his is an intuitive mindscape endowed with the perfect illumination, drifting into another world of vocabulary dressed in *a-conscious* interpretations; like the gliding brush stroke of a calligrapher vivifying each syllable.

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His father Prof. Dr. RaghuVira was a scholar and thinker of world renown who made signal contributions to the understanding of Asian culture and to India's linguistic development. Under his guidance, Prof. Lokesh Chandra studied Sanskrit, the classical language of India, and its derivatives Pali and Prakrits, besides Classical Greek, Latin, Chinese, Japanese, Avesta of the Parsis, Old Persian and other languages of cultural importance. In 1943 he helped his father in the translation of a Chinese Dictionary of Indian Geographical Names which was compiled in 517 AD from Chinese literature and accounts of travellers. He studied several Indian languages like Bengali, Uriya, Gujarati, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam. In 1947 he obtained the Master's degree (M.A.) from the Punjab University at Lahore. During his university days he collaborated with his father in the creation of scientific terminology for Indian languages in chemistry, physics, mathematics, botany, zoology and their ramifications.

The next two years 1948 and 1949 were taken up by Vedic research. He critically edited parts of the Vedic work *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* with the help of newly discovered manuscripts after a long and arduous search in Jaiminīya families. Although the MSS were acquired as early as the 19th century by Dr. Burnel and others, and Professors Örtel and Caland had even published extensive extracts. In his *History of Indian Literature*, M. Winternitz wrote on the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, "This work is of special interest for the history both of religion and legend, but unfortunately the manuscript material is so fragmentary that it cannot be edited". Prof. Lokesh Chandra spared no labour and time to restore this text to its original purity. In recognition of these contributions he was awarded the Doctorate of Literature and Philosophy by the State University of Utrecht (The Netherlands) in 1950. Four years later in 1954, he completed a critical edition of the entire text of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*. In the meantime he also edited the first English translation of the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* which was left half done by the eminent Dutch scholar W. Caland. While in Utrecht, Prof. Chandra studied Old Javanese with the leading authority at the time, Prof. J. Gonda.

From 1955 to 1960 Prof. Lokesh Chandra prepared a *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* in 24 volumes of 5000 pages. Nineteen volumes have appeared in print followed by the *Sanskrit-Tibetan Dictionary* with over 50,000 vocabulary entries, for which the vast scriptorium of the Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary with a hundred and fifty thousand cards had to be put in a new order. For this feat he has drawn upon the vast canonical literature of Tibet and an unsurpassed abundance of material has been collected. Every entry is followed by exact references to texts. The vast gamut of Buddhist thought and practice, art and meditation, scholastic and literary development is covered by this Dictionary in its wide sweep. It is the first comprehensive lexicographical effort to understand Tibetan literature and culture whose sway extended into the remotest corners of Higher Asia. It is unique in including more than a thousand illustrations from original xylographed iconographic manuals. The late Prof. F.D. Lessing of the University of California wrote, "I am amazed at the wealth of material you were able to get together and I am sure it will mean a gigantic step forward in the field of Sanskrit-Tibetan studies."

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Prof. Lokesh Chandra has edited nine volumes of Tibetan historical texts including a history of Samye, the first monastery of Tibet that was built as a great cosmogram symbolizing her entry into a new cosmic order. He has brought out a study on 19 Mongolian polymaths, besides *The Golden Annals of Mongolia* by Tsawa Tamdin. His three-volume *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* brings into view the vast dimensions of the intellectual life of the Land of Snows through the march of centuries. Prof. Lokesh Chandra collaborated with his father Prof. RaghuVira and completed the *New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*. It provides a wealth of information on the unexplored aspects of the iconographic art of Trans-Himalayan Asia as far wide as the Siberian and Volga regions. Prof. Lokesh Chandra concurrently worked on an edition of *The Complete Works of Bu-ston* in 28 volumes in the huge format of 11×18 inches. Bu-ston is one of the greatest representatives of Tibetan thought; there is scarcely a branch of the ancient disciplines that he did not cultivate.

On the eve of India's independence and partition, the family moved from Lahore to Nagpur and finally to New Delhi. In the year 1956, on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Academy in New Delhi, H.E. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the former President of India said, "I believe there are some other institutions also carrying on researches in Indology and other branches of ancient thought, but I do not think any one of them has been able to cover such a range of subjects and such a wide field as to include South-East Asia, the Middle East and Central Asia as the International Academy of Indian Culture. Seeing the importance of this work, it seems essential that the Academy should be encouraged in its work as far as possible. I hope this important work will continue and the gaps which exist today in our knowledge of ancient history and literature will be bridged by the publications of the International Academy of Indian Culture."

Unfortunately on 14th May 1963 his father embarked on a fatal journey. His last significant conversation with his son centered on their magnum opus *Comprehensive English-Hindi Dictionary* (published in April 1955); comprising four hundred thousand vocabulary entries of English with their Hindi equivalents of the biggest lexicographical effort of renascent Asia and yet raring to achieve a staggering figure of two million! They started on the idea in 1931. His father wrote "My son has been taking interest in the Dictionary project since the preparation of the first fasciculus in 1943. From April 1950 he has devoted himself entirely to it and participated in formation of terms as well. All this he has done with cheer and credit. Without his constant devotion to the cause and its execution it would not have been possible to fulfill our plans". Prof. Chandra not only completed his father's ambitious projects but actively continued "the work that Prof. RaghuVira has inaugurated and brilliantly pursued for many years (and which) is consequently as important as it is vast in its conception. All those who share his interest in the civilization of India and her neighbours will fervently hope that the International Academy of Indian Culture, now under the able direction of his son, will be able to proceed along on the paths mapped out by its great founder, and to bring to completion the valuable work to which he devoted so many years of fruitful labour" (Prof. D.S. Ruegg).

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The Urga edition of the Tibetan Kanjur was unknown till 1955 when Yumjagiyn Tsedenbal, the Prime Minister of the Peoples Republic of Mongolia, offered one of the two extant sets of this edition to Prof. RaghuVira during his journey to Mongolia. This edition was produced between 1905 and 1908 under the auspices of the 8th *rJe btsun dam pa*. Prof. Chandra writes, "It was after constant perseverance for a decade that in the year 1973, I could commence to fulfill my father's dream of bringing to light the immense corpus (100,000 pages) of the Mongolian Kanjur to make it accessible to the world of learning as a foremost oeuvre of Mongolia's literary legacy. The 105 volumes of the Mongolian Kanjur symbolize the cultural interflow between India and Mongolia over the centuries, embodying the Mongolian versions of 1161 Sanskrit works, most of which have perished in India."

Prof. Chandra followed this by the publication of 101 volumes of the Narthang edition of the Tibetan Kanjur from the Collection of Prof. RaghuVira. He informs, "The Narthang edition of the Tibetan Kanjur was initiated by Pho-lha-nas at an auspicious moment on 5th October 1730. The engraving of the xylographs was begun on the basis of the old Narthang edition which was handwritten during the years 1312-1320. This edition was supplemented by the catalogues of Tshal-pa, Bu-ston and others. The engraving was completed on 21 February 1732. In the middle of 1733 the first xylographed set was presented to the Panchen Lama for his blessings. Its printing blocks were deposited in the Narthang monastery, where they were preserved till recently. The blocks have been destroyed in the political upheavals of the Chinese occupation. As the xylographs have perished, the set has become extremely rare."

In 1978, Prof. Chandra published a collection of notes, articles, poems, and letters of the late Prof. Dr. RaghuVira on his 75th birth anniversary, entitled *India and Asia: a Cultural Symphony*. His father had spent years with Indonesia's scholars and sites, minds and monumental legacies, the history and silence of her Classical Epoch. On his table lay letters, icons and *lontars* from Indonesia. Prof. Chandra grew his way among them. To Prof. Chandra, "Indonesia is the Golden Land, the Suvarṇabhūmi of Classical India, having shared their way in the boundless excitement of minds garnered deep within. Indonesia was so central to the way of the Buddha in 7th and 8th centuries that her fame traveled as far as China. Indonesia is mentioned as *Dvīpāntara* by the Kuchean scholar Li-yen in his Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary in 782 AD, with reference to a verse in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa. Tagore speaks of *Tepantar* (Dvīpāntara) in his poems entitled The Crescent Moon as a fairyland 'where a pair of wise old birds has its nest'. Indonesia lived on in the amnesia of our legends, until the dictionary of Li-yen made her a geographical entity in Sanskrit literature."

The seven volumes of the *Cultural Horizons of India* series comprise the research articles and general surveys of Prof. Chandra. Collected from several obscure and inaccessible publications, it is a collection of writings that emerge from a broad spectrum of quests in Sanskrit and Iranian, Greek and Latin, Celtic and Slavic, Sino-Japanese and Tibetan, Thai and Indonesian history, Art and Linguistics, Tantras and Buddhism. The fourth and the fifth volumes of the *Cultural*

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Horizons of India, as prefaced by Prof. Lokesh Chandra are devoted to the epics and legends, philosophic, artistic and poetic traditions of South-East Asia and in particular classical Indonesia, out of her long silence and magnificent resilience that have triumphed over time. He elaborates, "The energy of her culture is prompted by dynamic imagination. Its evidence is written on her rocks, her palm leaves, her bronzes, in eternal sculptures, on constellations of architecture."

The pictorial narrative of *Smaradahana*, a classic composition of *mpu* Dharmaja was the very first manuscript that Prof. RaghuVira got from Indonesia on 8th August 1951. This collection of illustrated palm leaves (*lontar prasi*) consisting of 63 folios, along with references to the edition of Poerbatjaraka, was a generous gift from the Balinese scholar Wayan Bhadra. It brings to life anew the choreography of mind and heart, by which words and spirit integrate in the aisles of etched creativity. On his visit to the Singaraja and Jakarta museums, Prof. RaghuVira wrote, "There are thousands of manuscripts in Javanese with valuable commentaries in Balinese, representing the literary activities of a thousand years. It is unique in many ways. In Indonesia unlike anywhere else, Indian texts were not translated but adapted and recast to suit the needs of Indonesians." Prof. Chandra reiterates, "Smaradahana is symbolic of a culmination of affinities; a cultural symphony." His tribute to the poet and the land reads, "mpu Dharmaja is the bard of the beauties of his land sparkling in the impulses of nature."

The paper on Sanskrit studies in Indonesia, deals with Kṛtabhāsa genre, which are fragments of Sanskrit works, but of significance in preserving versions more ancient than the available texts. They shed light on the origins of the prose and poesy of classical Indonesia. The Jaka Dolog inscription of King Kṛtanagara has been re-interpreted, and the related passages of the *Nagarakṛtāgama* translated afresh. The image of Śiva in Candi Jawi (Jajawa) as described in the *Nagarakṛtāgama* had an Akṣobhya in the crown; it prompts a new rendering of the verses of the chronicle. The goddesses at Candi Plaosan Lor have led to the exploration of the extant *dhāraṇi-maṇḍala* at Alchi. The copperplate inscription of Hārīti has been translated anew in its functional context. This *dhāraṇī* was in recent years discovered in Japan written in the Siddham script as well as transcribed into Chinese characters by Amoghavajra. Notes on Kuñjarakarṇa bring to light the evolution of Rocana into Vairocana and thence into Mahāvairocana, the prominence of Pratisarā among the Five Protective Goddesses and the meaning of *vihāra* as a philosophical term.

Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan is an important Buddhist text in Indonesia. In Prof. Chandra's research the SHK has been analyzed and interpreted in the light of Chinese and Tibetan texts, which give the whole a coherence of thought and incisiveness of life. The translation of the text into Old Javanese is not literal, but a general rendering. Prof. Chandra writes, "It is a compendium of initiation rites and philosophical thought which comprises of two texts: 1) *Mantranaya*, based on the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi Sūtra*, *Nayasūtra* and *Jāpasūtra*, and 2) *Advaya-sādhana*. The two texts present a thematic unity which had not been appreciated earlier. They are integrally related as constituent elements in four stages of realization. The four stages are: *mahāmārga*, *paramamārga*, *mahāguhya* and *paramaguhya*. This classification is from the SHM itself. The first two are the

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way *mārga* while the latter two are esoteric *guhya* realizations. The *parama* level is higher than the *mahā* level in both *mārga* and *guhya*. This terminology is in itself an indication that both texts were conceived of as a systematic structure."

Further, he has translated and annotated extensively the Śaiva version of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* from the palm leaf manuscript kept in the library of Leiden. Prof. Chandra writes, "The complete text of the Śaiva version enables us to see its transformation from a Buddhist text into a Śaiva, after the first six folios. The five *skandhas* in a *yogiśvara* lead to a *mahāpuruṣa* who attains the Śaiva *sakala* and *niṣkala*. The changeover took place during the reign of King Sindok who came to the throne in 929. His religious, cultural and literary achievements are celebrated in his inscriptions by the epithets *dharmottuṅga-vijaya* and *dharmotsaha*. The Śaiva text of the SHK is a fascinating peep into these processes of transformation and into the religious evolution of Java in the tenth century."

Prof. Chandra's innate flair for linguistics and a keen appreciation of subtle nuances of prose and poetry are evident from his annotated translation of an edition of the Old Javanese *Chanda-Karaṇa*: The Art of Writing Poetry. The text was written at the court of the Śailendra dynasty on palm leaves in a kind of Old Sundanese writing and preserved in the National Library of Indonesia. Prof. Poerbatjaraka considers it to be the first literary work of Classical Indonesia. Quoting Prof. Chandra, "The *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* speaks of *vyākaraṇa* grammar and *prakaraṇa* logic as the two important secular disciplines. Our text provides the third dimension of *chandakaraṇa* as the elegance of speech. *Vyākaraṇa*, *prakaraṇa* and *chandakaraṇa* may be compared to the three liberal arts of grammar, logic and rhetoric in the Classical European tradition, known as the *trivium*; a triple way to eloquence. Learning the art of writing poetry was an essential part of Sanskrit studies in my own childhood. *Chandakaraṇa* was a comprehensive manual comprising several elements including alliteration, synonyms, homonyms for *double entendre* and the like. It was a practical compendium for aspiring poets as it preserves extensive quotations from the now lost *Amaramālā* which was a precursor to *Amarakośa*. As such it is of unique value for Sanskrit studies."

In 1936, two Japanese students, Chikyo Yamamoto and Shodo Taki, came to study Sanskrit, Tantras and Buddhist art under Prof. RaghuVira. Yamamoto brought with him a booklet *Footsteps of Japanese Buddhism: the Shingon Sect*, a delightful production featuring on its cover a lotus bloom and a three-pronged *vajra* in the Japanese sensitivity of color. It had a Jijō Bosatsu or Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva carved by Hōgen Intan in 1294 and is one of the six Jijō of Minami-dani Koyasan. In Prof. Chandra's reminiscences, "The serene face of Kṣitigarbha sitting on a high pedestal was a deep experience. I had found a lifelong interest in Japanese iconography. The *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* carries its impress." The fifteen volumes of the dictionary detail the characteristic attributes, chronology and symbolism of over twelve thousand main and minor deities. This voluminous research is an endeavour of half a century, summing up a quest dedicated to the memory of his father to whom he believes the sculptures and paintings were the

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breath of the Immense and the Eternal, the Transcendent and the Cosmic. Prof. Lokesh Chandra continues to gather his thoughts across the silent void of decades, penned down as responses to questions about the substance and shadows of values in Buddhist texts and traditions; or to identify images freed from the illusion of time. His has been an enriched life of enduring traditions and striving erudition, believing in Buddhist values as a human imperative with an enlightened dedication of a bodhisattva. As an ocean in a constant churn, his learning is an intense personal experience that transcribes his universe, seeking forever a renaissance. He writes, "The pen moves on as the mind wanders in timeless encounter with the *Sanātana*."

In addition to a brilliant academic career, Prof. Chandra led an active social, cultural and political life. He served as a member of the Rajya Sabha, Vice-President of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and Chairman of the Indian Council of Historical Research. In 2006 he was conferred the Padma Bhushan award by the then President of India Dr. Abdul Kalam, in recognition of his luminous and versatile contributions. I feel privileged and cherish the learning and sharing. In the summer of June 2007 he gifted me his volume of *Buddhism: Art and values*, with the message "to tread the grand way of life in the colors of values."

Prof. Lokesh Chandra is on the threshold of earning the epithet *Sahasra Candradarśi*, 'one who has seen a thousand full moons'. In the tradition of the East, eminent persons were presented with triple sacred objects called *rten gsum* reflecting the three planes: physical *kāya*, verbal *vāc* and spiritual *citta*. This reminds of the Chinese Emperor Ch'ien-lung who was gifted with the Manchu Tripiṭaka on the occasion. There could not be a more opportune occasion to honour Prof. Lokesh Chandra's life-long research dedicated to the cultural cosmos across the seas, in particular the study of philosophic, artistic and poetic traditions of classical Indonesia.

Thematic arrangement of the papers

Following this preface are the twenty-one papers of colleagues in honour of Prof. Chandra. The editor has tried to arrange the papers in this Felicitation volume in meaningful thematic clusters, but from the outset wants it to be noted that it does not concern tight or exclusive categories. Some papers could also have been subsumed in a different cluster, depending on the relative weight one wishes to accord to the constituent elements. Dr Kate O'Brien's paper about the narrative design of the epic poem *Sutasoma* is a case in point. Contrary to what might be expected, her paper was assigned to the category of papers discussing sacred architectural designs rather than to the category of papers discussing Old Javanese texts, mainly because the framework upon which the narrative has been 'constructed' is based upon design concepts found in *maṇḍalas*. O'Brien has previously demonstrated that the text of the fourteenth-century *Sutasoma* was composed in such a way as to help initiated readers understand the life-course and fortunes of the protagonist, Prince Sutasoma, in terms of his spiritual journey, as well as to show how a king might lay claim to Buddha-divinity and a higher level of power. Here, further elaborating on this complex narrative structure with its central core of Non-duality, O'Brien points to intriguing similarities with

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the architectural layout of Candi Jago, an East Javanese temple dating from the thirteenth century. The art-historical interpretation of these similarities aside, O'Brien's analysis of the *Sutasoma* casts a new light on Old Javanese poetry. Thanks to her path-breaking research it would now appear that there could be more to the recurrent comparisons in Old Javanese literature of the composition of a poem with the erection of a 'book-monument' or a 'temple' than a superficial literary metaphor. It makes one wonder how many other hidden structures could still be uncovered by re-examination of Old Javanese poems from a *maṇḍala* or sacred design perspective, particularly those texts that like the *Sutasoma* have been deprecated as excessively repetitious and abstruse in terms of similes and metaphors.

The paper by anthropologist Roy Jordaan could not be easily classified. While referring to the goddess Ratu Kidul in the title of his paper, Jordaan's essay has not been assigned to the cluster of papers dealing with the integration and gradual transformation of Indian goddesses in Javanese and Balinese folk beliefs and ritual practices, because with him the figure of the Hindu-Javanese goddess of the sea emerges from an art-historical analysis of a Rāmāyaṇa relief at the Śiva temple of Prambanan. His previous re-examination of the Prambanan causeway episode now serves as a means to revive the debate on the vexed problem of the origins of the Rāma story that served as a guide for Javanese sculptors. Comparative research of a similar causeway relief on a lintel of the eleventh-century Khmer-Buddhist temple of Phimai brings Jordaan to support François Bizot's claim that we should look for a common Indian non-Vālmīkian textual archetype rather than attributing the deviations to a defective oral transmission of Vālmīki's classical story and/or deliberate local adaptations.

This collection of twenty-one papers by internationally renowned scholars is a fitting tribute to the man in constant quest, unravelling the abstract dimensions of his shared heritage integral to the cultural horizons of India. He believes that each person has an East, a horizon he never reaches; a dimension of hope. Focussing on the eastern horizon of mainland and insular Southeast Asia, this volume covers only a segment of Prof. Chandra's wide-ranging interests and activities. In my opinion, Prof. Chandra's path-breaking work in the lands beyond the northern horizon (Nepal and Tibet) and the Far Eastern horizon (Mongolia, China and Japan) would deserve similar praise and emulation.

ManjuShree

10 January, 2011
New Delhi

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Candi Kalasan's Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon: a comparative analysis based on design principles presented in the *Mañjuśrī Vāstuvidyāśāstra*.

Mark Long

The *Mañjuśrī Vāstuvidyāśāstra*, which first came to the attention of archaeologists on Sri Lanka in 1972, demonstrates that Mahāyāna Buddhist architects had followed design principles during ancient times that were strikingly similar to those outlined in texts devoted to the construction of Hindu temples (Jayasuriya 1995:17). With respect to Indonesian archaeology, the text provides key concepts for more closely evaluating the architectural plans of Central Java's ancient Buddhist temples in general and Candi Kalasan in particular.

The colophons indicate that this text has two distinct parts: the *Vāstuvidyāśāstra* (chapters 1-3, VVS) devoted to the layout of entire monasteries, and the *Citrakarmaśāstra* (chapters 4-17, CKS) covering iconometry, the modeling of images and the layout of 'image houses' (*garbhagṛha*). Of specific interest are the image house plans given by the text, which include the *sthaṇḍila* (7x7; CKS 7.70-78), *maṇḍūka* (8x8; VVS 1.41, CKS 7.60-69), *paramaśāyika* (9x9; VVS 1.41, CKS 7.29-39), and *triyuta* or *padmagarbha* (16x16; VVS 1.41, CKS 7.2-28). Each consists of four distinct tiers (moving from the periphery to the center): the *paiśāca-*, *mānuṣa-*, *daivika-* and *brāhmika-pāda*, i.e., the 'Quarters' of the goblins/hungry ghosts, human beings, the gods and the Supreme Principal, respectively.

One difference between Śaivite and Buddhist *vastuśāstra* texts is that the former typically call these temple plans *vāstupuruṣa-maṇḍala*s, whereas the latter refer to them as '*caṇḍita*', which suggests that the Buddhist designation might have served as the basis for the Old Javanese word *caṇḍi* (candi in Indonesian) — a term that is still applied generically today to all of Indonesia's ancient temples. Though the VVS appears to come from the medieval era, some of the design elements mentioned in this unique text pertain to types of structures known to date from a far earlier period (Jayasuriya 1995:20). Given the known links between Sri Lanka's famous Abhayagiri monastery and the branch established in the late eighth century on the Ratu Boko hill under Śailendra patronage, it is entirely possible that Sinhalese monks had brought the term *caṇḍita* to Java, where it subsequently became shortened to *caṇḍi* (Long & Voûte 2008:19-20; Long 2010:82-85) — a Javanese word that first appeared in written form in the Ngabean VI copperplate inscription of 882 CE, which "speaks of the deities in the sanctum (*devata iṅ pacaṇḍyan*)" (Chandra 2007:393).

Borobudur

Among other things, the VVS and CKS provide a Buddhist context for a hypothesis (Long & Voûte 2008:184-185) suggesting that the design for Borobudur's summit was based on the standard *paramaśāyika* of 9×9 squares set forth in South Indian *vāstuśāstra* texts. According to the

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CKS (7.1), the design of the *garbhagṛha* can be circular, square, oval, rectangular, octagonal and even sixteen-sided. Though the summit is open to the sky, each of the 72 Buddha images is enshrined in its own dedicated *garbha*-enclosure. They surround the main *stūpa*, which occupies the remaining nine squares of the 'Quarter of Brahmā' (*brāhmika-pāda*), which the CKS typically left empty (Marasinghe 1991:xxiv).

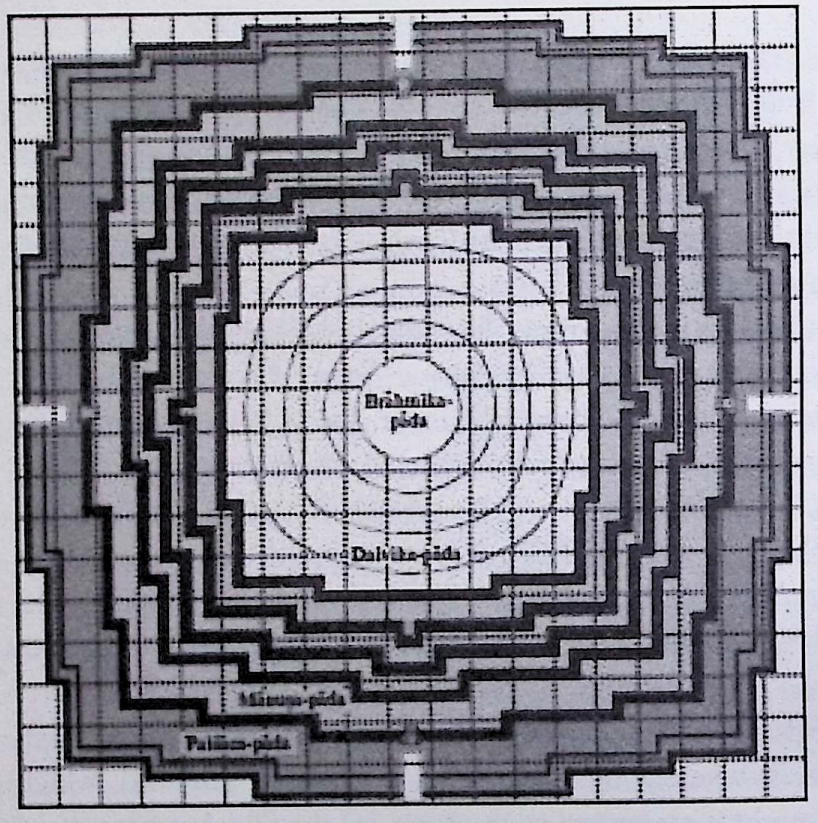

Fig.1: The major divisions of Borobudur's ground plan.

The core area of the summit is in turn embedded within a 19x19 (=361) *gaṇita*.[1] Though the VVS does not specifically cite this plan (Fig.1) by name, it does mention (1.41) that other grids were "known to contain an odd or even number of squares (as the case may be)" — and thus presumably were also available to builders. In this respect, the use of a 4:6:9 (=19) proportion ratio in the horizontal and vertical domains at Borobudur (Long & Voûte 2008:70-172) is significant. It not only gave form to the 19×19 square grid but also placed the four 'Quarters' of the entire plan in direct relation to discernable design segments, with the main *stūpa* occupying the *brāhmika-pāda*; the three tiers of 72 stūpas; the *daivika-pāda*; the narrative reliefs covering the past lives of Buddha and the pilgrimage of Sudhana; the *mānuṣa-pāda*; and the monument's base — including its hidden foot depicting the karmic consequences of being reborn in various forms — the *paiśāca-pāda*.

Candi Kalasan

An inscription found in the general vicinity of Candi Kalasan refers to the founding of a temple dedicated to the worship of Tārā — the Buddhist goddess born from a tear of compassion shed by Avalokiteśvara over the plight of suffering beings. From the pool formed by this tear, she arose on a lotus blossom and pledged to work for the salvation of all beings. The temple that visitors see today, which represents the last of three construction phases discernable at the site, is based on a cruciform plan and thus comparable to the shape of the fourth gallery perimeter immediately surrounding

[1] The same 19×19 grid of squares served as the layout plan for Prambanan (see Long 2010:83, Fig.118).

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Borobudur's summit. Kalasan's design also reflects an orderly transition from its square base (representing the earth), to a cruciform shape — the symbol of the 'four quarters' of the terrestrial solar year; an octagon; and finally the perfect circle of the main stūpa originally standing at the apex of the entire structure. A similar transformation is reflected in the design of Borobudur.[2]

The temple body,[3] which is seated over the center of the sub-basement and surrounded by an open space for the ambulatory, has a centrally placed chamber fronted by a long passageway in the east, as well as three more interior 'chapels' in the south, west and north, which are square chambers of 3.5 m per side (IJzerman 1891:24). There is a staircase on each of its four sides, though the distinctive first step for the one in the east leading into the central chamber suggests it was the principal one of the four.

The 37 niches and pedestals surrounding the now empty throne for the main image collectively suggest the possibility of a link with the 'Wings to Enlightenment' (*bodhipākṣika-dharma*) — the 37 aids to *bodhi* that must be practiced at successive stages of the Path to Enlightenment (Long 2010:109, note 2). They have clearly been integrated into the design of Candi Mendut, where they are symbolized by the 37 bas-reliefs adorning the footer of the cella and vestibule. Thirty-one of these 37 fields feature scrolling vines that serve as perches for birds, which are intended to evoke the white cranes, peacocks, parrots, egrets, *kalaviṅka* (sparrows), and two-headed birds (*jīvaṃjīvaka*) that sing harmonious and elegant songs in the Sukhāvatī heaven of the Buddha Amitābha. Their clear and joyful sounds proclaim the 'Wings to Enlightenment' and other *dharma*s. The remaining six reliefs on the short sides of the cella's projections depict flower blossoms.

The 'Wings to Enlightenment' are represented by 37 deities in the *vajradhātu-maṇḍala* "...with the Buddhas in the four directions being the direct emanations from Mahāvairocana at the centre;[4] the four Buddhas in turn emanate the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, who represent aspects of the functioning of the active energy of the five types of Knowledge. The four Buddhas also emanate the four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas, each in its corresponding direction, as an offering (*pūjā*) to Mahāvairocana." Alternatively, another interpretation holds that "the Pāramitā Bodhisattvas are aspects of Mahāvairocana's meditation (*dhyāna*), each of which produces, or 'gives birth', to a [type of] Knowledge; each is the 'Mother' of the Buddha in the same direction. Furthermore, the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas are the personifications of sixteen stages in the process of perfecting the Buddha

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[2] The orientation of Kalasan is reportedly not due east (90°), but rather 84° 34' (Degroot 2009:228) — a deviation from the east-west line that reminds of the angle of the path formerly connecting Borobudur with Pawon and Mendut (83° 16') and therefore will need to be checked for possible astronomical associations.

[3] Dumarçay (2007:211) concluded that Kalasan's third construction phase was either "contemporary with or later than the third state of Candi Sewu" where triads were placed on the exterior sides of the main shrine in the south, west and north. The original structure — which Bernet Kempers and Van Romondt (1954) associated with the Kalasan inscription (778 CE) — consisted of a simple square plan that was cleared from the foundation to make way for a more elaborate construction. It is possible that this first construction phase had similarly placed triads directly adjacent to the exterior ambulatory for the original design. However, the available data is insufficient for determining whether this was the case (Bernet Kempers 1978:130).

[4] By contrast, the principal figure at Kalasan was surrounded by 37 additional divinities.

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Knowledge" [with each representing] "a step in a hierarchical ascent. Unifying himself in meditation with each of the Bodhisattvas in turn, the *sādhaka* assimilates the aspect of Buddha Knowledge it personifies and thus realizes his innate Buddha-nature. The remaining Bodhisattvas among the thirty seven divinities in the *Diamond World Maṇḍala* — the eight Bodhisattvas of Offering and the four Bodhisattvas of Attraction — correlate with the concept of *pūjā*, the making of offerings to the divinity" (Snodgrass 1985:149-150).

The Old Javanese *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (SHK) refers to a 'Wheel of Letters' consisting of 37 syllables that play a role in the transformation of the body of the *yogin* into a *stūpa-prāsāda* by means of their mental disposition "in the body *stūpa*, outside and inside the *prāsāda*" (Chandra 1995:397). The syllables, which collectively represent the 37 *bodhipākṣika-dharmas* (Kats 1910:170), provide the means by which the body of the devotee (*sādhaka*) becomes "correlated to the sanctum and the alphabet" (Chandra 1995:395). Six out of the 37 syllables are differentiated from the rest (Long 2010:114), a division that is likewise reflected by the footer reliefs at Mendut, as noted above. Perhaps devotees had mentally placing seed syllables (*bījākṣaraṃ*) signifying the 'Wings to Enlightenment' within their own bodies as they moved through Kalasan and Mendut.

South Indian *vāstuśāstra* texts correlate specific grid squares of the temple plan with individual deities as well as the various parts of the body of the *vāstupuruṣa*. The VVS and CKS likewise link the same Hindu deities and grid squares but do not mention their corresponding body parts; however, as Coomaraswamy (1935:8) observed every traditional symbol "necessarily carries with it its original values, even when used or intended to be used in a more restricted sense".[5]

Candi Mendut

Fig. 2 (below) presents a plan for Candi Mendut that demonstrates where the four 'Quarters' of the *paramaśāyika caṇḍita* fall within this temple's principal structure, not including the projecting front porch. There are 31 divinities on the exterior walls of the cella and vestibule that we can match on a theoretical basis with the 31 reliefs along the corresponding footer, which incorporate bird motives to visually evoke the 'Wings to Enlightenment', leaving the deities formerly residing in the six cella niches (32-37) to be correlated with the six small reliefs featuring flower blossoms on the short sides of the three projections.

Numbers 1-8 represent the eight standing figures originally depicted on the exterior walls of the portal. Their partial remains show that at least some of these figures with halos were female. Following Krom (1918:419-437), the figures at the four corners of the cella would then be Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhin with Maitreya (9/10); Samantabhadra with Kṣitigarbha (16/17); Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuśrī (23/24); and with Akāśagarbha (30) hypothetically paired with either Padmapāṇi or Gaganagañja (31) in the missing relief.

[5] See Long 2010:153-164 for examples of how the placement of the individual Buddhist deities on the exterior walls at Mendut matches the characteristics of the Hindu deities that the VVS and CKS have assigned to the corresponding grid squares of the temple plan.

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Krom identifies the remaining figures as an eight-armed 'Tārā' (12) flanked by two bodhisattvas (11/13) over which two *vidyādhara*s float on clouds (14/15); a four-armed Avalokiteśvara (19) flanked by two female attendants (18/20) and with two *vidyādhara*s overhead (21/22); and a four-armed 'Tārā' (26) with two male attendants (25/27) and with two *vidyādhara*s once again depicted amidst the clouds overhead (28/29).

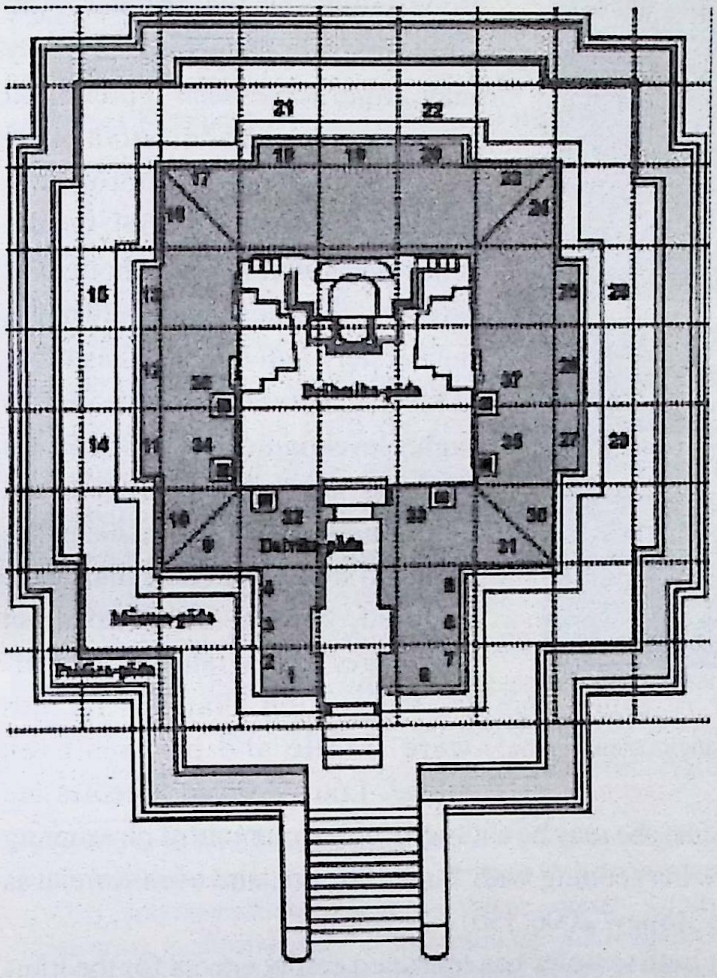

Fig. 2: The 9×9 paramaśāyika caṇḍita at Candi Mendut.

The first floor maṇḍala at Kalasan

The *paramaśāyika* likewise appears to be the best match for the temple body at Kalasan, which encompasses 37 places for free-standing images on the first floor. Though all 37 images fit within the grid of 7×7 squares, an additional dozen figures in bas-relief are clustered around the temple's four doorways, and thus all fall within the outermost tier of the *paramaśāyika caṇḍita*. Numbers 1-8 in Fig. 3 correlate the 'goddesses' on the exterior of the Mendut's projecting portal with the niches on the sides of Kalasan's four entranceway projections; the niche-pairs 9/10, 16/17, 23/24, and 30/31 with the Eight Great Bodhisattvas; and the deities in each of Mendut's larger panels on the projections filling niches 11-15, 18-22, and 25-29. Additionally, niches 32-37 maintain their close association with the central chamber of the temple. At Kalasan, these six niches are smaller than the ones in the chapels (110 cm wide; Bernet Kempers et al. 1982:44) or on the exterior façades of the building (100 × 88 cm; IJzerman 1891:20); their narrower widths (62 to 64 cm) are about the same as those in the center of the façade of each first roof stage (66 cm) in which Buddha images were enshrined (Krom 1923:258-262). The center niche on either wall of the internal passageway in the east is also situated higher than the other two.

Judging from the ornate lotus-derived aureoles carved on the back planes of some of the temple's exterior niches, their corresponding images must have been depicted in a standing posture. If the images residing within these sixteen niches "were intended to be individually distinguished by means

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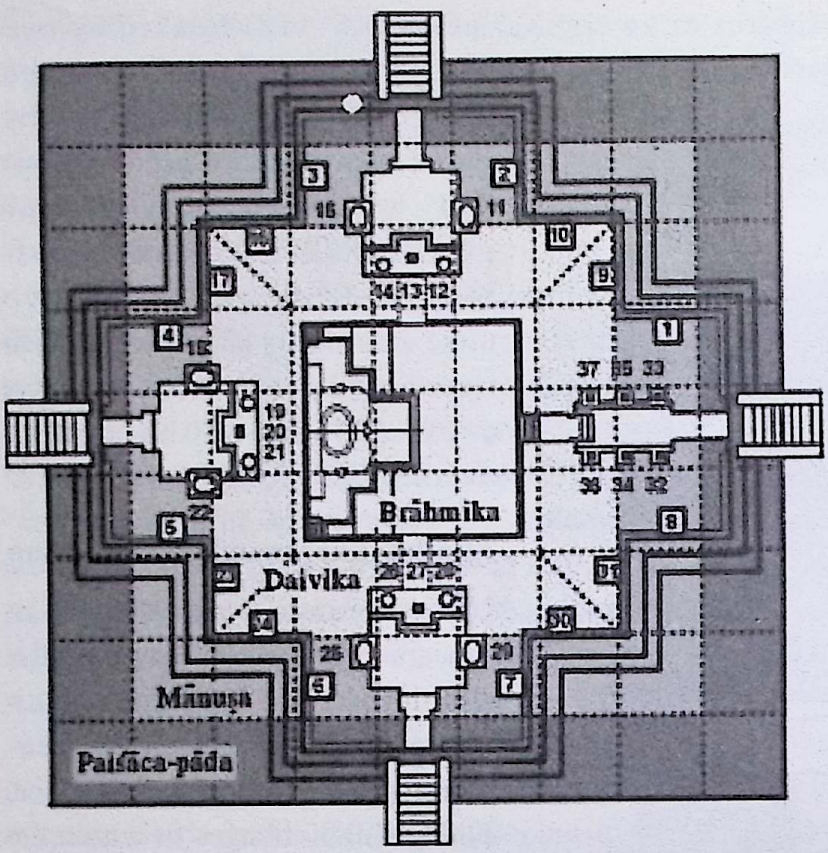

Fig. 3: Candi Kalasan's 9×9 paramaśāyika caṇḍita plan.

of attributes, it is quite possible that they were similar to the Eight Great Bodhisattvas on the Mendut. And since there are sixteen niches, they may either have been represented twice or each [bodhisattva was] accompanied by an appropriate goddess" (Krom 1923:260). On the other hand, Krom also thought it possible "that the figures were not as deliberately individualized as those at Mendut, but resembled the various higher level figures of the side panels of Candi Sari. Still visible above and below are the breaches in the niches in which wooden shutters must have pivoted, which could protect the images against rain and so forth" — suggesting that the images were fragile and perhaps even gilded. Lotus-derived aureoles are associated with Tārā. "In artistic representations, she may be endowed with an aureole of blossoming lotus plants and framed by a canopy of trees burgeoning with fruits, flowers, and even jewels, as nature brings forth its bounty in her presence" (Shaw 2006:330).

The central square of the grids applied at both temples has remained empty except for the lotus stool in front of the throne for the feet of the main image seated over a single square at the center-rear of the chamber.[6] The throne within Kalasan's central chamber originally had supported a truly colossal (over six meters in height) metal image[7] seated in *bhadrāsana.* The many stylistic similarities between this structure and the throne for the Buddha image at Mendut — which is likewise seated in

[6] Kalasan's central chamber features two 1.28 m openings that connect with the chapels in the north and south; they are placed at a height of 4.18 m from the floor, presumably for the ventilation purposes (Krom 1923:262). These two openings also would have enabled offerings of incense as well as vocalized prayers or *mantras* to permeate all three chambers. Talking Tārā images and paintings are well known from Tibet, Nepal and China (Shaw 2006:312; Beyer 1978:237), so the two shafts at Kalasan below the head of the temple's principal image plausibly could have served an aim other than purely functional ventilation.

[7] Brandes (1904:168-170) noted that the ellipsoidal ring that appears on the upper surface of the throne's seat (see Fig.4) was comparable to a well-known method used to secure objects made of bronze and other metals whereas stone images typically secured through the use of a pin or notch. The absence of any stone fragments of the colossal image and the discovery of part of a huge bronze finger in one of the side-chapels at Candi Sewu also contributed to Brandes' conclusion that the main image had been made of bronze or another metal. Then in 1927, the hair curls from

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the so-called European fashion on a throne decorated with elephants, lions and *makaras*[8] — apparently led Bernet Kempers (1959:50) to initially believe that a Buddha image had represented the Supreme Principal at Kalasan as well.[9] Later, however, he changed his mind: "The large central Tārā-figure must have been installed in the main cella before the construction had reached an advanced stage as it could [otherwise] not have passed through the doorway" (Bernet Kempers 1982:58). Still, an image cast in bronze could have been carried into the temple piecemeal at any time.

The temple's dedication to the female principle is perhaps indicated by the bas-relief images of goddesses that appear on the first roof story immediately above the *kāla*-heads over the entranceways, and also further down on the lintels above the temple's four doorways. The incorporation of an architectural element popularly known as a 'moonstone' (*ardhacandra*) as the bottom step for Kalasan's outer staircase in the east also may be significant due to Tārā's many associations with the moon in both the Hindu and Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions.[10] Hymns dedicated to the goddess describe her at times as having the full moon as an aureole or compare her to the moon amidst the sky and constellations. A *sādhana* composed by Candragomin (seventh century) associates her with the *candrakāntā* — which in addition to 'lovely as the moon', 'moon-loved', and 'wife of the moon' can also mean 'moonstone' — a gem "supposed to be formed from the congelation of the moon's rays and to dissolve under the influence of its light", according to Monier-Williams *Dictionary*. The generation of the *candrakāntā*, which occurs through the mental placement of the vowel 'A' on the devotee's heart, is an integral component of the first step in visualizing the goddess, according to the monk (Willson 1986:338).

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a bronze head for a Buddha statue of about 3.6 m in height were discovered at Sewu, which Stutterheim (1929:489-490) believed must have come from the main shrine's original image.

[8] "[Tārā] may also be seated on a throne adorned with lions, elephants, stags and crocodilian water monsters (*makaras*), incorporating the animal realm into the composition" (Shaw 2006:330).

[9] Klokke (2006:50) asserts that the main image at Kalasan "seems to have been a Buddha image" but without providing any evidence other than to cite a personal communication from Jan Fontein suggesting that the Kalasan inscription might be connected "with a number of relief sculptures depicting female deities which were found in the neighborhood of the finding place of the inscription" and thus could have come from a temple no longer in evidence "that was dedicated to a Tārā image." However, the inscription's mention of the founding of both a temple and a cloister for monks is far more likely to refer to Candi Kalasan, where a *pendopo* was discovered 130 m to the south of the temple. "MacKenzie called this building a temple, Baker an auditory or state hall. The latter observed that the roof was originally supported by 14 pillars and that along the outside [of the hall] was a veranda with 22 pillars. The greatest length of the building was from the east to the west. The central space with the columns measured 47' ×28.5', the veranda had a width of 12.5'. Considering that the rubble found at this site only consisted of bricks, the supposition is warranted that except for the base of the posts little or no natural stones were used for this building and that the roof therefore also consisted of impermanent materials. This supposition finds support in the remains of yet another pendopo that was discovered on the other side of the Opak River at about 1200 m from the one mentioned here" (IJzerman 1891:15). This last remark is of particular interest given the similar distance between Borobudur and Pawon (1150 m), and the stone foundation on the opposite side of the Progo River a bit further on (Candi Bajong).

[10] See *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1928: plate 4b. Several beautiful Singhalese examples of architectural moonstones were discovered at the Abhayagiri monastery in Sri Lanka.

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The *Ārya-Tārā-Sragdharāstotra* by Sarvajñamitra, which contains precisely 37 stanzas, includes many verses that describe how Tārā saves beings from suffering and the eight fears posed by lions, elephants, fire, snakes, thieves, water (especially the perils of ocean voyages) and demons. *Sragdharā* not only means 'the garland bringer' — one of the epithets of Tārā — but is also the name of the meter in which the hymn is composed (Dhar 2004:9-10). Thus, the embedding of the number 37 within Kalasan's plan could perhaps be viewed as an architectonic garland adorning Kalasan's supreme divinity. The writings of Akṣobhyavajra and Sarvajñamitra, among others, also indicate that Mahāyāna Buddhists were casting Tārā in the role of the Supreme Being by the eighth century.

> "In this body of sources, Tārā is attributed with every perfection of character and all enlightened qualities and powers. She is explicitly referred to as a Buddha. Her character encompasses all that Buddhahood entails... As a Buddha, she possesses the three Buddha-bodies (*buddha-kāya*). The transcendent *dharma-kāya* is one with ultimate reality and hence formless, imperceptible, and indescribable. The *sambogha-kāya* refers to her manifestation in the divine body of a goddess. This level of embodiment encompasses her many epiphanies and the works of art that represent them. The *nirmāṇa-kāya* is that in which she appears in the human realm." (Shaw 2006:315)

Vaśyatārā is the form of the goddess for which *bhadrāsana* is specified, and this was one of the arguments that Jordaan (1998) brought forth to support his hypothesis that she was Kalasan's presiding divinity. Vaśyatārā is also called Āryatārā (Bhattacharyya 1958:229-230) — a term that appears in the Kalasan inscription (*bhagavatyai āryatārāyai*). As Jordaan noted, the use in the inscription of a generic honorific seems superfluous in that *bhagavati* and *ārya* both can be glossed as 'noble' or 'honorable', but that the redundancy disappears if indeed Āryatārā is understood as an alternative name for Vaśyatārā. Jordaan also noted that Vaśyatārā is depicted sitting alone on the throne, without attendants, in contradistinction to Khadiravani-Tārā — the only other Tārā candidate for which *bhadrāsana* might be appropriate but who is always escorted by two female companions. As seen earlier, however, the architectural principles set forth in the VVS and CKS would not have permitted the placement of attendants in the main chamber at Candi Kalasan, which stands above the nine squares of the *brāhmika-pāda* at the center of the *paramaśāyika caṇḍita* plan for the image house. Instead, the two attendants of the goddess plausibly could have been placed in two of the six niches within the entranceway in the east, perhaps within the two niches with higher elevations, which fall within the *mānuṣa-pāda.*

Furthermore, Jordaan (1998:173) noted the possibility of a connection between the 21 internal images surrounding the principal divinity at Kalasan and the 21 Tārās celebrated in the "Praise in Twenty-One Homages", but discounted their potential presence across the temple's diverse array of interior niches and pedestals because of the popular Tārā "tradition attributed to Nāgārjuna and Atīśa" in which these 21 goddesses "are scarcely distinguished except by colour, peaceful or fierce expression, and the colour of the flask that each holds in the right hand" (Willson 1986:118). On the ground plan prepared by IJzerman (1891), an oval outline fills the entire width of the pedestal

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in each chapel niche, which suggests the placement of a seated image, as is the case with the larger oval traced on the throne for the principal image. On the other hand, the niche pairs within the chapels are more than tall enough for a person to stand in. By contrast, the outlines for the two side figures on the pedestal against the back wall in each chapel are circular, which is perhaps the more appropriate shape for a standing image. However, the full implications of these marks will need to be studied further.

In any event, the Sūryagupta (the *guru* of Sarvajñamitra) school depicted Tārā Nos. 2, 7, 11, 13, and 14 (Willson 1986:126, 135, 143, 146 and 148) in standing postures. Moreover, the well-known "Praise in Twenty-One Homages" from which these 21 goddesses are derived describes a sixth Tārā (No. 5 in the series) as engaged in the act of "trampling" for which a seated position is incongruously prescribed. Hence, "Perhaps it is simply that all these traditions stem from visions received by *yogins*, which are not necessarily neat intellectually" (Willson 1986:119). Still, devotees moving through the temple only would have encountered Tārās No. 2, 7 and 14 on the chapel altars in the same sequence in which they are given in the "Praise in Twenty-One Homages". The six remaining niches in the temple's entrance chamber in the east, on the other hand, can easily become linked with the final six Tārās mentioned in the hymn, which represent Her activities and are all described as being seated (see Willson 1986:115, 151-161).

When worshipped in her nine-fold aspect as the savioress from the Eight Perils, the goddess is described seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* at the center of a lotus, the petals of which support eight more goddesses displaying identical characteristics, according to the *Sādhanamālā*. Collectively they represent Tārā's mantra: "*Om* for the eastern one, *ta* for the southern one, *re* for the western one, *tu* for the northern one, *tta* for the southeastern one, *re* for the [south-]western one, *tu* for the north-western one and *re* for the north-eastern one" and with the entire mantra reserved for the deity at the center of the lotus (Donaldson 2001:237-238). Though superficially attractive with respect to proposing identifications for the three triads appearing in the temple's south (26, 27 and 28), west (19, 20 and 21) and north (12, 13 and 14) chapels, the presence of a high pedestal for a triad within each of these chambers suggests a seated posture for just three figures, or all nine if the six circles for the side figures are deemed appropriate for seated images. By contrast, four of the eight Tārās are peacefully seated on the inner lotus petals surrounding the ninth member seated at the center; the other four on the outer lotus petals "are wrathful and stand with right leg straight and left bent" (Willson 1986:62). This would appear to preclude the placement of the Tārās associated with salvation from the Eight Perils in eight of the sixteen exterior niches. However, further research into artistic depictions of Tārā as the savioress from the Eight Perils will be required before we can entirely eliminate the possibility of their placement in standing postures only.

Candi Sewu

The central shrine at Candi Sewu initially had consisted of five separate buildings sharing a common base. Only later were they transformed into a unified structure that reflects the form of a Greek cross (Dumarçay 2007:163). Unlike at Kalasan, however, the main circumambulation path at Sewu

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surrounds the main cella and thus has been placed inside the shrine's cruciform plan. Moreover, at Sewu each of the five building components has its own separate roof structure, whereas at Kalasan the rooftops of the four chapels and the main structure all share a common base. The main shrine (Fig. 4) appears to have been adapted from the *sthaṇḍila* (7×7) plan, which Bunce (2002:146) already had deduced.

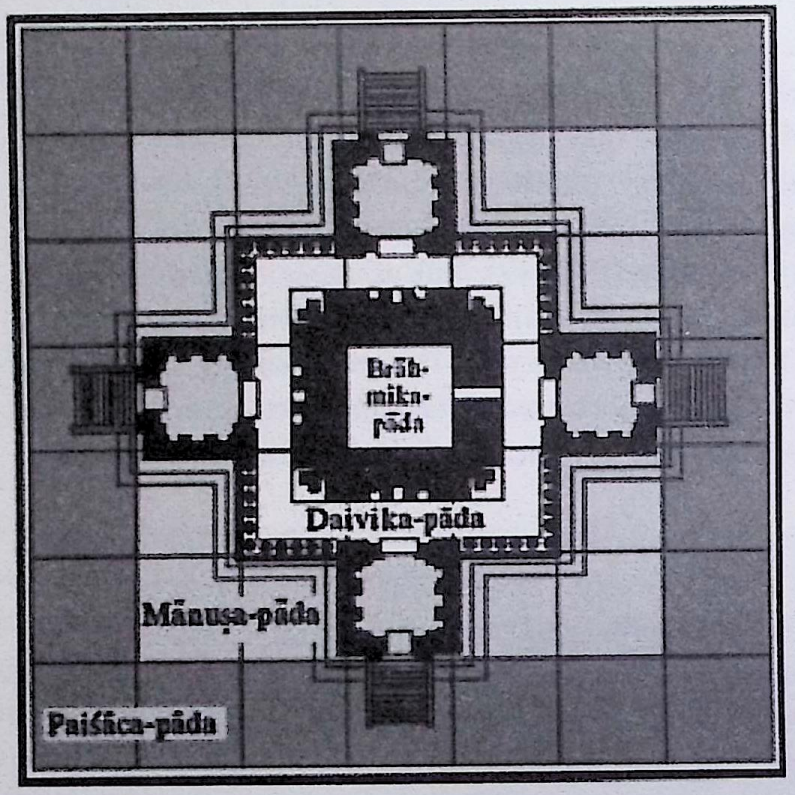

Fig. 4: Sthaṇḍila plan at Candi Sewu (main shrine).

The central square of the grid was almost entirely occupied by an image, which is atypical according to the practices outlined in the CKS (Marasinghe 1991:xxiv). The entire cella in turn is surrounded by an ambulatory path bordered on the outside by stūpas and on the inside by image triads installed in the niches on the south, west and north sides of the cella. Initially these niches were for standing images, but during the second building phase a pedestal for a seated image was added to the central niche in each triad (Dumarçay 2007:207). Perhaps these triads were comparable to the one triad still in evidence at Mendut: the Buddha flanked to either side by figures in royal dress, or to the triads in the *vihāras* at Candi Plaosan Lor for which the seated central figure is missing in each case. The placement of three triads within the *daivika-pāda* at Sewu suggests the three primary images were awarded Buddha status (Mus' *Buddha-parés*), and thus perhaps had represented something similar to the *ratnatraya* of the SHK (Chandra 1995:411-412).

The six niches in each of the shrine's four subsidiary chambers are also grouped into triads, with the central figure on each sidewall placed having been seated on an ornate pedestal in an elevated sitting position (see Klokke 2006:63, plate 3), flanked by a narrower and taller niche on either side, presumably for standing images. During a later construction phase, however, the shrine's internal deity population was modified through the addition of four more images placed on pedestals located in the corners of each side chamber. Following the change, a total of 49 images had surrounded the principal image at the center of the plan, none of which have survived into modern times (Krom 1923:290-291).

The number of deities encompassing the main image on the first floor at Kalasan — including the four triads in bas-relief at the entranceways — also equals 49. Mendut's temple body likewise

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incorporated 49 deities, not including the image-triad within the central chamber. In addition to the 37 figures linked to the *bodhipākṣika-dharma*, ten more are depicted in bas-relief within the vestibule (Long 2010:169-188) and a pair of *nāga*s supports the lotus seat of the four-armed goddess on the exterior wall facing the southwest. Furthermore, at Mendut the roof of the cella originally supported 49 stūpas.

In the Buddhism of East Asia and Tibet, the number 49 is linked to the 'intermediate state' (*antarā-bhava*) between death and rebirth, which is said to have a maximum duration of 7×7 days and is also known as the *gandharva* (Hirakawa & Groner 1990:175-176). Thus, the traditional period of mourning was 49 days, during which rites for the dead were conducted at seven day intervals (i.e., 7×7 days). Given that the four subsidiary chambers of the main shrine at Sewu are aligned with the cardinal directions, one could envision the placement of the appropriately facing Tathāgatas in the central niches of the sidewalls in each chapel, flanked by bodhisattva attendants. With respect to the additional pedestals placed in the four corners of the chapels, perhaps at least some of them were occupied by *devi*s. The CKS (7.67) states that images of Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī may be installed in the *mānuṣa-pāda* for the 8×8 *maṇḍūka* plan. For the *sthaṇḍila,* however, we are merely told that these goddesses should become placed on the hood and the tail of the *vāstunāga* ('serpent of the site', see Long 2010:259-260), which implies locations nearer to the periphery.[11]

Candi Plaosan Lor

The number 21, representing the internal deity population at Kalasan, also plays a featured role at Plaosan Lor, where each of the twin vihāra likewise exhibits three internal chambers linked to the north, west and south. A triad was seated on a raised altar against the back wall of each of these (Fig. 5) chambers, which also had niches in the sidewalls for two more images (Fig. 5) on the first floor, and once againon the second storey (not shown on the plan).

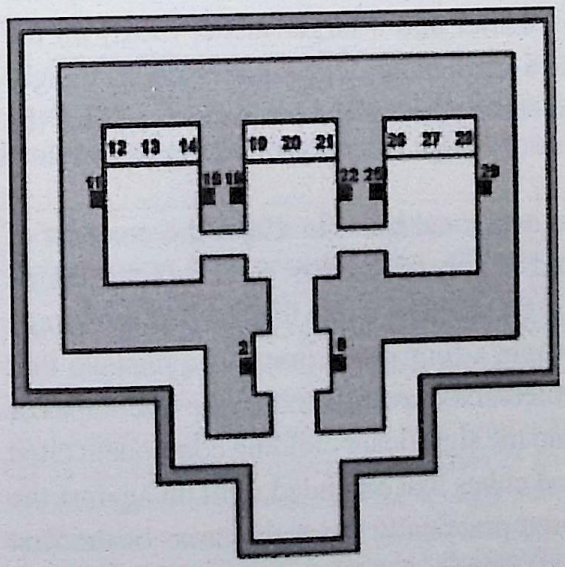

Fig. 5: Candi Plaosan Lor vihāra (first floor).

Depicted in the *lalitāsana* body posture within the south vihāra's northern chamber, Maitreya (12) and Samantabhadra (14) originally flanked an image (13) fully seated on a lotus pedestal, presumably a Buddha. The north chamber also has two niches (11,15) in the sidewalls; Avalokiteśvara (19) and Vajrapāni (21) had flanked an image seated on a lotus pedestal (20) in the central chamber facing the west, which likewise has two sidewall niches (18, 22); and Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhin (26) together with Mañjuśrī (28) had flanked the main image (27) in the south chamber, which has two niches in the

[11] Bunce (2002:146) mentions and illustrates the former existence of small shrines occupying the three outer squares in the immediate vicinity of each of the corners, but without providing any citation. None of the early visitors

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sidewalls (25, 29). Two more niches containing images of Maitreya (north) and Mañjuśrī (south) are located in the antechamber in the west. The same pair is found in cave 12 at Ellora, where they appear to fulfill a guardian function (Bautze 1997:27). The images within the eight external niches on the sides of Kalasan's core square possibly fulfilled a guardian function similar to what Krom (1918:437) envisioned for the Eight Great Bodhisattvas at Mendut, where Maitreya and Mañjuśrī face the northeast and southwest.

We encounter the number 21 once again on the *pendopo* located at the north end of the temple yard. At either end of the altar facing the west is a complete set of the four Tathāgatas of the cardinal directions; between the two sets are three more Buddhas in *dharmacakra-mudrā*. By contrast, each of the two remaining altars — which face the north and south, respectively — supports five figures, including images of Maitreya (or perhaps Samantabhadra), north altar; Mañjuśrī, south altar; and Jambhala, south altar (Long 2010:202 & 219-221). IJzerman (1891) reported finding 22 images here, but did not say where the now vanished image was seated. Perhaps the pendopo originally had 23 images, with two seated near the entrance as is the case in the vihāras. There are obvious differences between the postures of the ten images on the north and south altars and the six side figures occupying the altars within either vihāra. Still, the close proximity of all these structures suggests the possibility of parallel arrangements.

Kalasan's rooftop maṇḍala

Candi Kalasan's roof design consists of three stages, the first of which exhibits the form of a Greek cross, just like the temple body.

> "Thereon lies a girdle of niches comprising 20 with a width of 66 cm and 24 with a width of 40 cm, placed in such a way that a large niche stood in the middle of the front, flanked by two smaller ones, then on the sides of the projection a smaller and a larger niche, [next] on the connecting wall of the actual temple square a large and a small niche, and so on... Buddha images sat in all the niches — except in the eight [niches] at the corners of the projections against the temple square." (Krom 1923:260)

The first roof stage in turn is surmounted by two more octagonal tiers. In 1927, the erection of scaffolding enabled the temple's roof to become inspected closely for the first time, which enabled the restorers to realize that IJzerman (1891) had been incorrect when he wrote that the first roof-stage had only incorporated five stūpas above each of the temple's four projections — a mistake that Parmentier (1948:83) would later incorporate into his architectural drawing. Behind the five stūpas of the first roof stage, B. de Haan and P.H. van Coolwijk found the significant building component cited by Bernet Kempers above; it had consisted of two stacked cubes that extended right up against the octagonal core construction behind them and thus covered practically the entire areas of the first octagon's wall segments facing the cardinal directions. "It is then also impossible that the normal

to Sewu mention the existence of small structures at these locations, nor do they appear on the ground plans made by Cornelius (reproduced in Bernet Kempers 1978:40), IJzerman (1891) or Krom (1923).

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decoration-layout — a niche with seated Buddha flanked left and right by a bodhisattva[12] — occurred in the areas of the [lower] octagon that are situated on the axis of their respective projections" (*Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1927:8).[13]

The Dutch architects inspecting the roof also considered a construction element clearly visible on the east-facing side of the first octagon — which resembles a tall niche — to be a weight relieving component for the projections in the cardinal directions, which the Dutch architects dubbed a *sparingsgewelf*. However, Bernet Kempers (1982:31-32) called this assessment an error, and was convinced that niches had been placed at the main compass-points of the first octagon stage. Though Buddha-images were not found in any of these four places, he said their absence does not prove that none had ever been installed in them. On the other hand, one has to wonder why the temple's builders would have put images at places where they could not be seen. Jordaan (1998:177) has suggested that these four niches, which are tall and narrow, might have housed standing images of *Buddhaśaktis* or *Prajñās* — female counterparts of the Tathāgatas. However, the presence of a tall roof niche does not necessarily mean that the corresponding image must have been depicted in a standing posture, as the Buddha seated on a neatly stack pile of stones in one rooftop niche demonstrates.

The three roof tiers had either presented a total of 48 or 52 spaces within which images could have resided originally: 36 within the niches adorning the first roof stage,[14] four more niches on the oblique sides of the first octagon (or eight if the four niches in the cardinal directions also were occupied), plus eight more at the level of the second octagon. However, the uncertainty over this final point makes it problematic for us to arrive at a final count; having 48 Buddha images on the three roof stories would remind of the situation at Mendut, which originally had three roof stories that collectively had supported 48 stūpas plus the main stūpa at the top. Or if there had been 52 Buddha images, it would suggest the possibility of a link with the 52 small stūpas (shown as squares along the outer border in Fig. 6) that formed the outermost tier of the overall plan, which is based on a grid of 15×15 (=225) squares within which the image house occupies the central 9×9 grid.[15]

Krom (1923:262) thought it probable that Kalasan's builders had emulated the disposition of Buddha images at Borobudur, where the niches on top of the gallery balustrades are flanked by

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[12] These male attendants in bas-relief — which are replaced with spiral-tendrils on the higher octagon stage — more likely represent the *gandharvas*, which alternate with *apsarās* between the Buddha niches at Borobudur.

[13] Only one [unspecified] statue from a niche on the first octagonal part of the roof was found by the Dutch architect-restorers De Haan and Coolwijk amidst the rubble there (*Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1928:11-12); this is likely to be the same singular image noted earlier by IJzerman (1891:22).

[14] Van Erp (and others) detected many resemblances between Kalasan and other Central Javanese antiquities. "At Kalasan the first roof storey has very many resemblances with that of the Śiva temple [at Prambanan]. Kalasan also has 36 niches that are similarly grouped into 24 architectonic units. Here also the detachment and accentuation of the elements on the true corners and the strongly protruding frames of the niches, but with the front of the niche frames receding with respect to that of the architrave (*teerling*) underneath the cornice. For comparison see the plates in IJzerman's study: 'Beschrijving der Oudheden'." (*Verslag* 1926:22).

[15] The temple plan of 225 squares numerically matches the number of days required to complete one solar zenith cycle at the temple's local latitude, where the two annual sun zenith passages precede and follow the June solstice by periods of 112 days, respectively (see Long 2010:250-257).

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female as well as male attendants in bas-relief. He envisioned a Buddha image in all the available roof niches of the first story, with each turned to his designated point of the compass, and "analogous to Borobudur one can expect [Buddhas in] *vitarka-mudrā* on the second story [and] *dharmacakra-mudrā* on the third." Images displaying the standard *bhūmisparśa*, *varada*, *abhaya* and *dhyāna mudrā*s were either found at Kalasan, or are known to have made their way into private collections (Jordaan 1998:173-175) but none presenting the *vitarka* or *dharmacakra mudrā*s.

With respect to the stūpas placed on the roof, each of the four projections has its own separate crowning construction that is formed by two cubes placed one on top of the other.

> "All these elements were covered at different levels with stūpas of various sizes and distributed according to a well-defined system: 1 (at the summit) + 16 + 16 + (on each of the projections) 1 + 4 + 5, + (on each of the true corners) 1 of greater size. Just as at Mendut and Borobudur, and, as we will see, the subsidiary temple of Candi Sewu, the Buddhist nature of the temple unmistakably comes to the fore here. Naturally, it is much to be regretted that [at Kalasan] we must make do with reconstruction drawings for the magnificent crown; but where the remaining authentic stones are not sufficient so as to be sure about all the details — and thus also not sufficient for the full reconstruction — the restorer in this case has no other option than consolidation with a limited amount of reconstruction. The stūpas, with their underlying niches for Buddha images, could be reinstalled in a few places only in the upper section above the cornice. The first octagon section could only be restored up to the crown of the niches (containing standing relief-figures), thus without the stūpas above on its top. At the second octagon section only a half height was reached. The cornice of this [second octagon section] could not be found, nor the crown — which may reasonably be assumed to have consisted of an enormous stūpa in view of the overall design [of the temple building]. The height of the temple without this top element [= crowning stūpa] will have amounted to approximately 24 meters." (Bernet Kempers 1978:128-129)

A total of 52 stūpas were placed along the outer edge of the entire temple plan, which in turn was surrounded by a profiled enclosure wall (*Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1929:8). Bernet Kempers thought these were funerary shrines or mausolea for monks (1978:130; 1982:22). Among other things, many of these small stūpas contained stone and bronze containers with lids, the trace remains of garments as well as needles, and perhaps the vestiges of a blade. All of these would be appropriate items for monks to possess: monastic garb, needles for restoring torn garments, and blades for shaving their heads. Beads, semi-precious stones, pieces of gold-foil, a bronze mirror and strips of gold and silver leaf inscribed with *ye dharmā hetu prabhavā* — the so-called Buddhist Confession of Faith — also were found within these stūpas (Stutterheim 1938:112, pl. 5-6). A mirror was often used in tantric Buddhist rites. In the SHK (17-19), the master performing an *abhiṣeka* with a mirror recites the following: "When you see all phenomena precisely, they are not different from the reflection in a mirror. The reflected form of your body in a mirror is clear, but it is not tangible (*ginaměl*), for it has no real existence. Likewise are all forms of existence, [e]specially human life. It arises from karma.

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Therefore they are just (*mātra-mātra*) visible, but they do not exist in reality." According to Chandra (1995:312), this section of the text "reflects the Buddhist credo *ye dharmā hetu prabhavā* that all forms of existence arise from a cause or *karma*, and really have no existence."

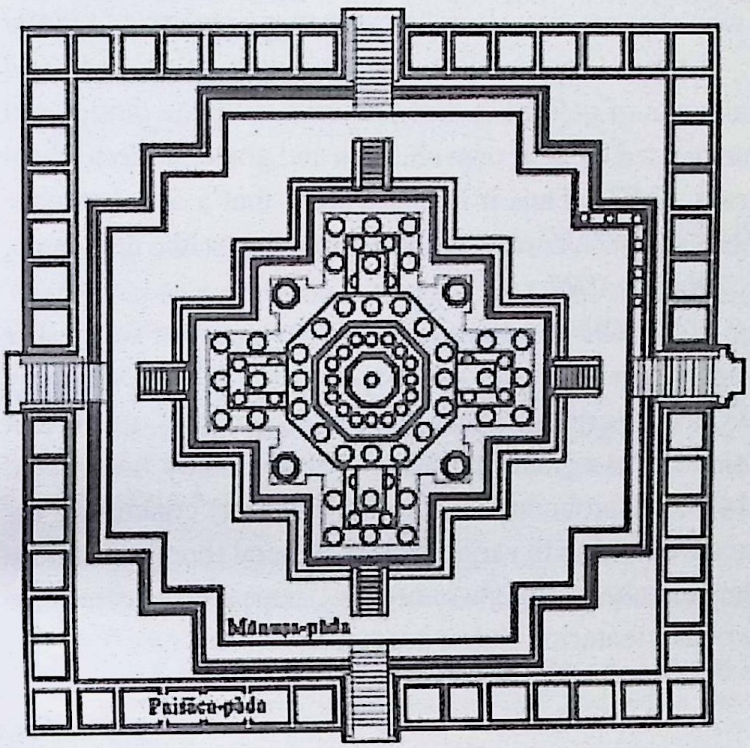

Fig. 6: Candi Kalasan's temple plan and roof design.

Though small stūpas also were found in the vicinity of Borobudur, Mendut and Sari, Bernet Kempers (1982:45-46) noted that the Kalasan stūpas (see Fig. 7 — a detail from a drawing by V. R. van Romondt that appears in Bernet Kempers 1954) were extraordinarily ornate, with female figures, winged shells and other elements placed amidst scrolling foliage featuring birds, all of which remind of the reliefs on the foot of Mendut's cella, which collectively symbolize the 'Wings to Enlightenment', and with the female figures perhaps yet another indication of the temple's special relationship with the goddess Tārā.

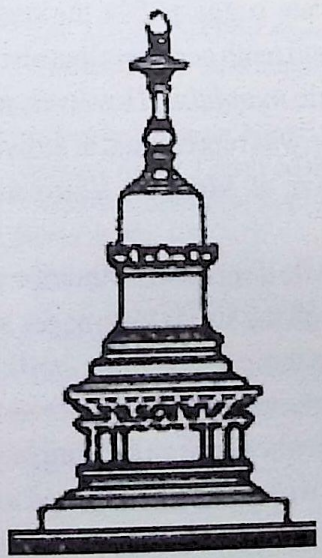

Fig. 7: A stūpa.

"The stūpas, which are placed on a square pedestal, have an elongated, *liṅga*-like shape and are crowned by a parasol [as it were] on a richly patterned, round *yaṣṭi* (shaft). The foot, pedestal or base rests on a square, protrusive plinth, followed by a straight ledge and a gently receding ogive. The next element is bounded [from] below and above by a projecting, decorated frame. In between is a frieze the surface of which is divided into three parts by flat posts. The three panels thus formed present two small bands with [a] lively flower-ornament within diamond-shaped patterns, and a broader, horizontal panel that set within a flat frame shows a symbolic motif — a female figure, winged shell or such like amidst foliage scrolls, with or without birds — on lotus cushions." (Bernet Kempers 1982:45)

The outermost tier of the overall temple plan coincides with the *paiśāca-pāda*. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Long 2010:301-313), there are reasons for suggesting that the Javanese had associated this particular 'Quarter' with the *Svarga-loka* — the heaven of Indra inhabited by

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ancestral royal spirits, pious sages and brave warriors struck down in battle. "Neither sun nor moon shines there, for those worlds are self-luminous and are seen in the sky from earth as stars — *tārā-rūpāni yān iha dṛśyante*. Great sages reside there along with those who have gained perfection and warriors who died in battle." For pious men who observe their vows "acquire many regions of felicity in the abode of Brahman himself. There, O king, they dwell in the company of *apsarās* and *gandharvas*. Indeed, they sport and enjoy all sorts of delight in those regions, with the deities and guests and the *Pitṛs* in their company, and surrounded by their own children and grandchildren. Even such becomes their high end" (Mahābhārata 13.93). Thus it is noteworthy that a few Javanese inscriptions "seem to refer to the hovering spirits of ancestors, who 'arrive in villages like demigods, rushing through the ways of the firmament'" (Sarkar 1972:xxiii).[16]

The Vajrāsana-Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription of 792 CE was discovered in the vicinity of shrine 202 at Candi Sewu, which is located in the yard's outermost tier of shrines in the west (Dumarçay 2007:179) and thus within the *paiśāca-pāda*. The inscription states that Śrī Nareśvara — the lord of the inscription's composer, who identifies himself "as a good charioteer" — had already "incarnated in the realm of the gods" (Miksic 2001:14). At Borobudur, this is the 'Quarter' containing the *Karmavibhaṅga* bas-reliefs depicting the causes of rebirth in various forms. Several short inscriptions featuring the word 'Svarga' ('going or leading to or being in light or heaven') appear on selected bas-reliefs from the series and with at least two also featuring Indra, according to Kern (see Van Erp 1911:594).

Conclusion

The preponderance of material evidence unearthed in Central Java to date suggests that the region's Buddhists had maintained a relatively stable pantheon between the eighth and tenth centuries that also was of modest size in comparison with the groups of deities populating esoteric *maṇḍalas*. However, major variations seem to have occurred with respect to how the Supreme Principle was represented at individual temple sites: Mañjuśrī, presumably at Candi Lumbung; the Ratnatraya at Mendut; Vairocana at Borobudur; and Tārā at Kalasan.

In the north vihāra at Plaosan Lor — which displays the images of female donors on its interior walls and thus thought to have been set aside for the use of female Buddhists — all the surviving images are of male deities. Furthermore, none of the 21 images currently residing on the three altars (Long 2010:219-221) of the pendopo are readily identifiable as female figures, though a couple are too damaged for us to be certain. Images identified as 'Tārās' by Krom (1923:15) were unearthed elsewhere within the temple yard, but no female figures had occupied principal places, at least with respect to what can be ascertained today.

Still, there is no convincing reason why Tārā — even if surrounded by a predominantly male retinue — should not be granted the central position at Kalasan or on the altars in each of the temple's three

[16] "One elevated to Svargaloka after death lives there in a celestial form, but retains the same identity as when living on earth. It is not that one is reborn as a god or gandharva in order to experience the delights of heaven, but rather that one is able to live amongst the gods after death as the same individual with the same personality" (Sutton 2000:264).

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chapels. Nor can we deny her the potential status of a Buddha in the now empty places of distinction on the altars of the north vihāra at Plaosan Lor. As one hymn to the goddess states,

> "Endowed with the thirty-seven Aids to Bodhi, Dhyānas, and many *samādhis* and Liberations", Tārā has realized inseparably the space-like Dharmakāya, but shows "Form-bodies, like rainbows, to migrators. Always, supreme chief of all the *maṇḍalas*, Tārā, You save migrators from *saṃsāra's* straits." (Willson 1986:212-221)[17]

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[17] According to this hymn, Tārā's crown is "adorned with Amitābha, with the look of a universal ruler." Perhaps Amitābha had originally been seated on Kalasan's roof directly above the main image's head.

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Space and order in Prambanan

Subhash Kak

Introduction

This essay presents new ideas regarding the plan of the 9th-century Prambanan temple complex and the number of its subsidiary shrines (*candi perwara*). Sometimes viewed as derived from the Somapura Mahāvihāra of Bengal, which was built by Dharmapāla (r. 770-810) of the Pāla dynasty (Rowland 1953), Prambanan is a *sarvatobhadra* temple with a terraced plan and a unique *maṇḍala* layout.

The historiography of Candi Prambanan is well summarized by Jordaan (1996). The largest temple compound dedicated to Śiva in Indonesia, the main complex has a size of 220×220 m which encloses the inner complex of size 110×110 m. The outer yard has 224 candi perwara temples (of size 6×6×14 m) in four descending terraces and within the inner yard is the Śiva temple which is

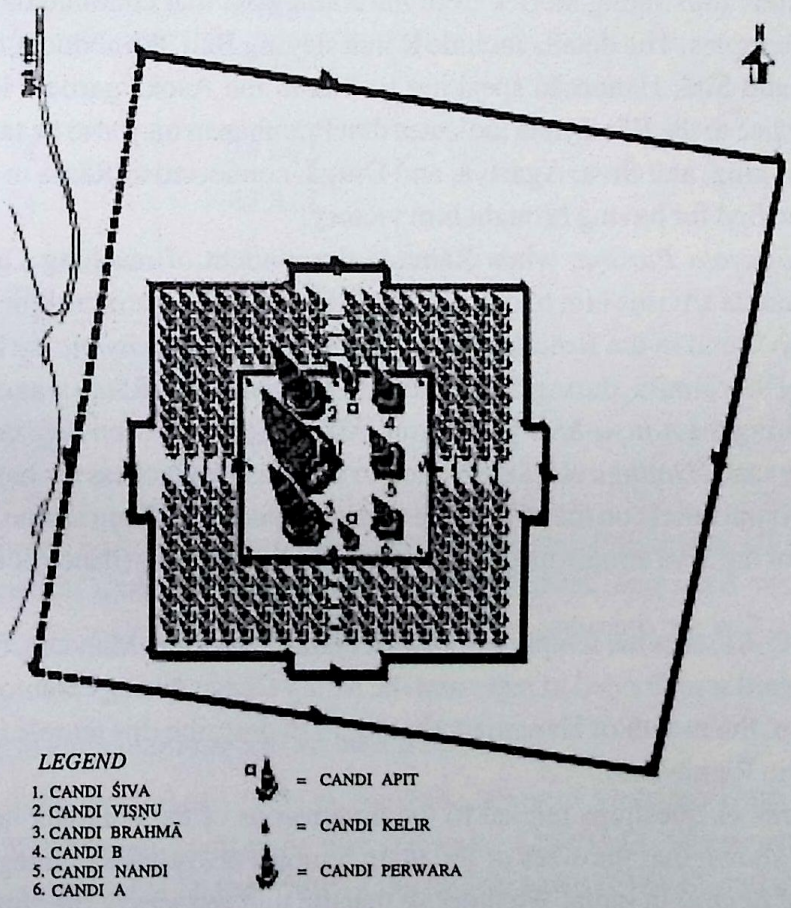

Fig.1: The Prambanan complex

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flanked by temples to Viṣṇu at the north and to Brahmā at the south. Facing the Śiva temple is a subsidiary temple dedicated to Nandi, as is common for Śiva temples. Similar subsidiary temples face the Viṣṇu and Brahmā temples also, and although it is not certain what deities were originally installed there, they appear to have been Śiva and a Mahāyogi. The Śiva temple is 34×34×47 m in size, whereas its companion temples are 20×20×33 m.

Within the Śiva temple stands the image of Agastya to the south, Gaṇeśa to the west, Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī to the north, and images of Mahākāla and Nandīśvara to the east as doorkeepers. Durgā here is also called Loro Jonggrang, *Slender Virgin.* The temple is named after the Goddess by the local population, namely Candi Loro Jonggrang.

The Purāṇas explain Durgā ("Unassailable") as emerging from the collective powers of the gods to fight Mahiṣāsura, the *asura* who has repeatedly defeated them. When seen as the consort of Śiva, she is the fierce aspect of Pārvatī. Since Durgā represents victory, her image commemorates a victory of the builder of the temple. The jar-born Agastya, who is also the star Canopus, is the teacher who planted the Vedic wisdom in a southern land.

The Śiva temple is on top of a terraced and richly decorated plinth, with stairs leading to the main entrance and those of side chapels. The terrace below is surrounded by another richly sculptured balustrade, with reliefs illustrating stories from the Rāmāyaṇa that continue on the terraces of the Brahmā and Viṣṇu temples. The details include Rāma slaying Bāli, the abduction of Sītā, the tender affection of Rāma and Sītā, Hanumān speaking to Sītā in the Aśoka garden, Rāma's crossing to Laṅkā. The prominence to the Rāmāyaṇa indicates that Prambanan may also be taken to be dedicated to Rāma as the ideal king, and Śiva, Agastya, and Durgā, connected to Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas, are glorified for having brought him victory.

In the *Devi Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, when Rāma is despondent of reaching Laṅkā and defeating Rāvaṇa, the sage Nārada advises him to call on Durgā for help and instructs him on how to worship her; this story is also found in the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Kṛttivāsa (fifteenth century). According to Vālmīki, during the battle with Rāvaṇa when Rāma was exhausted, Agastya inspires him by reciting the *Āditya-hṛdayam* hymn. After Laṅkā has been defeated, Rāma worships Śiva in the form of a sand *śivaliṅga* at Rāmeśvaram to seek his forgiveness for having killed Rāvaṇa.

There are also Kṛṣṇa reliefs on the balustrade that surrounds the Viṣṇu shrine. The exterior to the first sub-basement of the Śiva temple has reliefs that show the *karaṇas* (dance poses) from Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra.*

Jordaan (1996:45-61) sees the temple as a representation of Mount Mandara, or Meru, suggesting that the inner courtyard was flooded to represent the Milky Ocean during ceremonies. As support he cites passages, put in the mouth of Hanumān, that seem to describe this temple in the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa).

This essay addresses questions related to the dimensions of the complex and the nature of its maṇḍala plan. It is shown that the sizes of the main temples are related to integer multiples of the standard measure of *dhanus* in India. We propose that the four terraces of the *candi perwara* shrines are the four concentric circles of deities around the central region in the Śrī Yantra (also called

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Śrī Cakra) and their number equals the emanations associated with further Tantric ideas that were popular around the time the temple was built.

The basic measures and Prambanan dimensions

Both proportion and size, seen most clearly in the prescriptions related to the images, are important to the design of the Hindu temple (Kramrisch 1946). Recent studies haves shown that the unit of dhanus has been used consistently in India in town planning and architecture for over 4,000 years, going back to the Harappan period. By considering the largest measure which leads to integer dimensions for the various parts of the Harappan age city of Dholavira, which was excavated in the 1990s (Bisht 1997, 1999), it was found that this measure is the same as the *Arthaśāstra* (300 BCE) measure of *dhanus* (bow) that equals 108 *aṅgulas* (fingers) (Kangle 1986; Danino 2008).

The measure of dhanus is seen to apply not only to the Mauryan and Gupta era structures (Balasubramaniam 2008), but even to more recent grid and modular measures in the town planning of Kathmandu Valley (Pant and Funo 2005). The measures used in ancient India are summarized in the table below.

Measure	aṅgulas	centimeters
aṅgula	1	1.763
vitasti (tāla)	12	21.156
pāda	14	24.682
aratni, P-hasta	24	42.312
C-hasta	28	49.364
F-hasta	54	95.202
daṇḍa	96	169.248
dhanus	108	190.404

The three different *hasta* measures have been called the Prājāpatya (*P-hasta*), commercial (*C-hasta*), and forest (*F-hasta*) by Balasubramaniam (2009), and used variously in different situations. Here we are concerned primarily with *dhanus*, although we will also encounter *pāda* and *aratni*.

a. Dhanus measure in town planning and architecture

With the measure of *dhanus* (D) of 1.9404 m, the dimensions of Mohenjo-Daro's acropolis turn out to be 210×105 D; Kalibangan's acropolis turn out to be 126×63 D. The dimensions of the lower town of Dholavira are 405×324 D; the width of the middle town is 180 D; and the inner dimensions of the castle are 60×48 D (Danino 2008). The sum of the width and length of the lower town comes

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to 729 which is astronomically significant since it is 27×27, and the width 324 equals the *nakṣatra* year 27×12 (Kak 2009).

When considering temples and sacred buildings of historical times, we note that the *Vāstu Śāstra* claims that the structure of the building mirrors the emergence of cosmic order out of primordial chaos through the act of measurement. The universe is symbolically mapped into a square that emphasizes the four cardinal directions. It is represented by the square *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, which in its various forms is the basic plan for the house and the city. There exist further elaborations of this plan, some of which are rectangular.

The Somapura Mahāvihāra of Paharpur has dimensions of 280×281 m, which when converted to *dhanus* become nearly 147×147 D, or 49×49 with the units of three times *dhanus*, which would be a natural plan for a *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala.* The base of the temple was generally in a square grid of 8 or 9 units (64 or 81 squares) in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (Bhat 1995), but according to other texts it could range from one to 1024 square divisions (Kramrisch 1946:58). The *Vaikhānasāgama* gives special importance to the 7×7 plan.

The Bṛhadīśvara temple (which was completed in 1010), has a sanctum tower of 30.2×30.2×66 and it is within an enclosure of 240×120 m. In dhanus units, this amounts to 16×16 D plan in an enclosure of 126×63 D, where the error is less than one percent in the sanctum and almost zero for the enclosure. This indicates that the sanctum used a *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* of 64 squares where each square had a side of one-fourth dhanus.

Considering the dhanus unit outside of India, let us look at the Angkor Wat complex, where we use the dimensions given by Mannikka (1996).

Outer perimeter: 1024×802 m $= 540 \times 420$ dhanus (error less than 0.4 percent); sum of the sides is 960 dhanus.

Outer gallery: 187×215 m $= 97 \times 113$ dhanus (error less than 1 percent); sum of the sides is 210 which is one half the width of the outer parameter.

Middle gallery: 100×115 m $= 53 \times 60$ dhanus; sum of the sides is 113, which is the length of the outer gallery; it is also one-third the atmosphere + sky number of the Vedic altars (Kak 1993, 2000a, 2000b).

Inner gallery: 60×60 m $= 32 \times 32$ dhanus; the inner gallery is a 64×64 *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in half-dhanus units.

The number 113 is attested as an important number of Vedic rituals and the representation of the inner gallery as a 64×64 *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in half-dhanus units validates the use of the measure.

b. The Prambanan dimensions in dhanus

We now consider the Prambanan dimensions. In terms of dhanus units, the outer two perimeter sides are 116×116 D, and 58×58 D, respectively, with less than one per cent error. The Śiva temple becomes 18×18 D, with less than half-percent error. The dimensions of the Śiva temple mean a *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* of 9×9 = 81 squares where each side of the square is 2 dhanus long. This choice had a bearing on the ultimate dimensions of the temple. As we have seen in the later Angkor

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Wat dimensions as well, the squares of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* are either multiples of the dhanus unit or its simple divisors.

The side of the Viṣṇu and Brahmā temples becomes 81 *pāda*, which admits a *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* of 9×9 *pāda*. Likewise, the perwara temples have sides nearly 25 *pāda* long, implying a *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* of 5×5.

The sum of the heights of the Viṣṇu or Brahmā temples (33 m) and the perwara temple (14 m) equals that of the Śiva temple (47 m). These heights are almost exactly equal to 78, 33, and 111 *aratni*, but we are not sure if these numbers had a special symbolism.

The Tantric context

The evolution of the temples of the larger Hindu world was shaped by Tantric ideas that were shared by Hindus and Buddhists. The Tantras are a map of the inner cosmos for the discerning and ritual for the layperson, in which theological differences related to names do not matter (Goudriaan and Gupta 1981). This explains how the eleventh-century Buddhist abbot Vidyākara in his anthology of Sanskrit poetry has 29 verses on the Buddha (together with the Bodhisattvas Lokeśvara and Mañjughoṣa), when he has many more on Hindu divinities, that is 74 verses on Śiva and his household (Pārvati, Kumāra, Gaṇeśa, Nandi), 44 on Viṣṇu (including Lakṣmī, Rāma, Krṣṇa, Rādhā), and an additional 4 on Sūrya (Ingalls 1965). The same attitude was behind the building of both Hindu and Buddhist temples by kings, as in the example of Lalitāditya of Kashmir (Huntington 1985:360).

The idea of Tantra, inherent in the Upaniṣadic homology of the *Ātman* and *Brahman,* is the equivalence of the body and the universe (*piṇḍa* and *brahmāṇḍa*), which suggests recursion or repetition of patterns across space, scale and time. The *Atharvaveda* speaks of the city of gods, Ayodhyā, which is the body itself, and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* echoes this in describing the body to be the city of Brahman. A *yantra*, a representation of the inner cosmos, is described in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*. Early Vedic ritual had some balance between the outer and inner elements but as the Hindu temple evolved, the representation of the inner cosmos became the predominant element, and the temple plan came to be based on maṇḍalas (Kak 2002, 2006).

It is significant that *yantric* buildings in the form of maṇḍalas have been discovered in northern Afghanistan that belong to a period that corresponds to the late stage of the Harappan tradition around 2000 BCE (Kak 2000a, 2005b). Apart from orientation in the cardinal directions for temples or other monumental buildings, additional astronomical alignments were used. For example, in cave 6 of the Udayagiri complex on the summer solstice of the year 402 CE, the shadow of the Iron Pillar of Delhi (which was originally located at the entrance of the passageway) fell in the direction of the reclining Viṣṇu panel (Balasubramaniam 2008).

Tantric ideas were at the basis of much temple building activity in India in late first millennium by both Hindus and Buddhists. As mentioned before, the very basis of the temple plan is the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in which deities are mapped to different squares of the temple. But now in a further evolution of this idea a three-dimensional maṇḍala was used in the Somapura Mahāvihāra in

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Paharpur, and the Śrī Yantra was installed in many Śakti temples such as the Kāmākṣī Amman Temple in Kanchipuram.

Vedic cosmology and temple construction

Here I wish to show that Vedic texts are helpful in knowing the grammar that lies behind the constructions of the *śilpin* who consulted not only the *śilpaśāstra*s but also texts like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (ŚB) on how to synthesize the basic elements of the temple into new forms. The foundation of Vedic cosmology is the notions of *bandhu*, homologies or binding between the outer and the inner, each of which is viewed as having a tripartite structure. For example, in the Āyurveda medical system, the 360 days of the year are taken to be mapped to the 360 bones of the developing fetus, which later fuse into the 206 bones of the person.

The sacred ground for Vedic ritual is the precursor to the temple. The Vedic observances were connected with the circuits of the sun and the moon (Kak 1993, 2000a). The altar ritual was associated with the east-west axis and it maintained different day counts with respect to the solstices and the equinoxes. Specific days were marked with ritual observances that were done at different times of the day.

It was estimated correctly that the sun and the moon are approximately 108 times their respective diameters from the earth (perhaps from the discovery that the angular size of a pole removed 108 times its height is the same as that of the sun and the moon), and this number was used in sacred architecture. The distance to the sanctum sanctorum of the temple from the gate and the perimeter of the temple were taken to be 54 and 180 units, which are one-half each of 108 and 360 (Kak 2005a). This represents a ratio of 10 to 3 between the perimeter and the axis.

In the ritual at home, the householder employed three altars that are circular (earth), half-moon (atmosphere), and square (sky), which are like the head, the heart, and the body of the Cosmic Man (*Puruṣa*). In the Agnicayana, the great ritual of the Vedic times that forms a major portion of the narrative of the *Yajurveda*, the atmosphere and the sky altars are built afresh in a great ceremony to the east. This ritual is described at great length in the Brāhmaṇas. This ritual is based upon the Vedic division of the universe into three parts of earth, atmosphere, and sky that are assigned numbers 21, 78, and 261, respectively.

The numerical mapping is maintained by placement of 21 pebbles around the earth altar, sets of 13 pebbles around each of 6 intermediate ($13\times6=78$) altars, and 261 pebbles around the great new sky altar called the Uttara-vedi, which is built in the shape of a falcon; these numbers add up to 360, which is symbolic representation of the year. The proportions related to these three numbers, and others related to the motions of the planets, and angles related to the sightings of specific stars are reflected in the plans of the temples of the historical period (Kak 2009; Kaulācāra 1966).

The Agnicayana altar is the prototype of the temple. The altar is first built of 1,000 bricks in five layers (that symbolically represent the five divisions of the year, the five physical elements, as well as five senses) to specific designs. To represent two more layers of reality beyond the purely objective,

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a sixth layer of bricks that includes the hollow *svayamātṛṇṇā* brick with an image of the golden *Puruṣa* inside is made, some gold chips scattered and the fire placed, which constitutes the seventh layer (ŚB 10.1.3.7). The five layers are taken to be equivalent to the Soma, the Rājasūya, the Vājapeya, the Aśvamedha, and the Agnisava rites. The two layers beyond denote completion, since seven is a measure of the whole. The meaning of this is that the ceremonies of the great altar subsume all ritual.

According to ŚB 7.4.1, within the hollow brick in the navel of the Uttara-vedi, a lotus-leaf is placed upon which is then placed a gold *rukma* (a disk, with 21 hangings), which symbolizes the sun. The golden *Puruṣa* (representing Prajāpati as well as the Yajamāna himself) is laid on the back with the head towards the east on top the *rukma*.

On the sides of the golden *Puruṣa* are two offering spoons, like two arms. Upon this image is placed the already mentioned *svayamātṛṇṇā* (self-perforated) brick. In total, there are three such bricks, in the centre of the first, the third, and the fifth layers. There are seven more bricks placed to the east of the *svayamātṛṇṇā* brick in the fifth layer. Next is a wooden mortar placed and on top of the mortar is placed the *ukhā*, the fire-pan which becomes the focus of the fire ceremony. The "sixth layer is the heavenly world, and the seventh layer is immortality" (ŚB 8.7.4.17-18).

The stūpa is easily seen as derived directly from the piled altar, with the relics of the Buddha replacing the golden *Puruṣa* within the hollow brick. The *garbhagṛha* of the Hindu temple likewise is an enlargement of the hollow space of the *svayamātṛṇṇā* (self-perforated) brick.

The worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Śakti may be seen to have emerged from Agnicayana. The temple is not merely the buildings, the deity, but also the complex of the *yajña, pūjā*, or ceremonies performed there, so that in totality it represents both the being as well as the becoming. The becoming, or the transformation, requires the use of a special vocabulary related to inner processes. Briefly, Rudra is one of the names of Agni. According to Vājasaneyi S. 16.2, Agni has two forms, the auspicious Śiva and the fierce Rudra. During the building of the altar, Agni appears in its *raudra* manner, and to propitiate it the Śatarudrīya homa is performed. This propitiation of Agni-Rudra is also done literally by a stream of water that drops out of an earthen pot hung over the *liṅga*. In one of the constructions of Nāciketa Agni, 21 golden bricks are placed one top of another to form the *liṅga* (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 3.1.1.6).

In the Vaiṣṇava tradition, the visualized golden *Puruṣa* is Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa who emerges from the navel of the lotus on the Uttara-vedi that represents the waters, and for this reason is also called Padmanābha. The golden disk upon the lotus is then the *sudarśana cakra* of Viṣṇu.

These ideas became the foundation for temple construction in later texts. According to *Tantrasamuccaya* I, ch 1 74-89 and *Śilparatna* 63, a treasure jar (*nidhikalaśa*) made of stone or copper is placed on the foundation stone (*ādhāraśilā*), on which a stone lotus is placed, upon which are successively placed stone tortoise, silver lotus, silver tortoise, gold lotus, and gold tortoise, which represents Viṣṇu upon whom the world rests. From there a funnel shaped tube, the Yoganāla, made of copper leads up to the plinth or to the lowermost molding (Kramrisch 1946:110).

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The *garbhādhāna* ceremony, done in the Vedic times to steady the womb, is performed to the earth. The *garbha* vessel is made of copper, but it may be made of silver or gold also. The vessel is lowered into the ground on an auspicious night. On its floor the serpent Ananta is drawn and it is placed on the hood of Ananta. On the lid of the casket, the maṇḍala of the earth is drawn (Kramrisch 1946:126).

It is not surprising that in the pits dug below the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples at Prambanan, gold plates and gold foil figures of a turtle, wheel, and serpent were found. Although some of the gold foil figures, such as the turtle, the spoked wheel, and the serpent are associated with the churning of the milky ocean, they cannot be taken as proof that this temple was a representation of the churning of the milky ocean.

The perwara temples

Several theories have been advanced for the choice of the count 224 for the perwara temples. According to Lokesh Chandra (1967) these temples represent the worlds of the cosmological system of the Śaiva Siddhānta, but the specific reference to this system was not indicated (Jordaan 1996:47).

I would like to propose that this count is related to Tantric ideas that were popular in the 9th century. The Śaivite philosopher Śaṅkara (788-820) speaks of the Goddess of the Śrī Yantra in the *Saundaryalaharī* (SL). In SL11, the description of the Śrī Yantra in terms of its 4 *Śrikaṇṭha* (upward pointing) and 5 *Śivayuvatī* (downward pointing) triangles, creating a total of 43 triangles is provided.

The Śrī Yantra is the tripartite division of earth, atmosphere, and the sun, which is mirrored in the individual by the body, the breath, and the inner lamp of consciousness; it also represents the three parts of the body: neck to head, neck to navel, and navel to the bottom of the trunk. Its basic form is that of three triangles. Second, within each triangle are lower hierarchical levels of two other triangles, of alternating opposing polarity that represents male and female principles. All together, this adds up to 9 interpenetrating triangles (5 downward pointing Śakti principle and 4 upward pointing Śiva principle), which through their overlaps constitute a total of 43 small triangles. Right through the middle of this is the dot, the *bindu* that is the transcending union of the Goddess and Śiva, the Witness, or Consciousness.

The 42 outer triangles, each of which is associated with a deity, are arranged in four circles around the middle triangle, with counts of 8, 10, 10, and 14 in the four arrays. According to SL 14:

> Fifty-six for earth *(mūlādhāra)*; for water fifty-two *(maṇi-pūraka)*,
> Sixty-two for fire *(svādhiṣṭhāna)*; for air fifty-four *(anāhata)*,
> Seventy-two for ether *(viśuddhi)*; for mind sixty-four *(ājña cakra)*
> Are the rays; even beyond these are your twin feet.

These rays are the emanations from the body (of the Śrī Yantra as well as that of the worshiper), and the verse claims that the transcendent Goddess remains beyond the domain of these rays. The six

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*cakra*s are classified in *granthi*s (knots) of two. The lowest two *cakra*s correspond to 108 rays, the middle two to 116, and highest two to 136 rays. I suggest that the emanations of the lower two *granthi*s, which add up to 224, are represented by the *perwara* temples, as they are built out of earth, water, fire, and air. The additional rays of the highest *granthi* are mapped into worship and ceremony that corresponds to ether and mind.

Śaṅkara's influence on Indian thought and religion during his life was meteoric and it is likely to have resonated in Indonesia as well. Since Prambanan was completed only in the mid-ninth century, it is reasonable to assume that the centrality of the Śrī Yantra in Śaṅkara's lived religion, as contrasted to philosophy and debate, influenced adepts and temple architects in Java. The four terraced round shrines of the candi perwara mirror the four circles of deities around the central triangle which is the place of the union of Śiva and Śakti and the similar count of 224 indicates that the Śrī Yantra was a model for the Prambanan temple.

The *Devī Mahātmya*, which is a part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (c. 400), is the textual source for the worship of Śrī Yantra. It is significant that Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya is believed to have brought Hinduism to Java and Bali. This no doubt represents the fact that the main form of Hinduism in Indonesia was Śaktism, in which one of the iconic images is that of Durgā as the vanquisher of Mahiśāsura, who is celebrated on the day after Navarātri ("festival of nine nights"). Durgā in this form is Caṇḍī, and it is appropriate that the temple in Indonesia came to have this name.

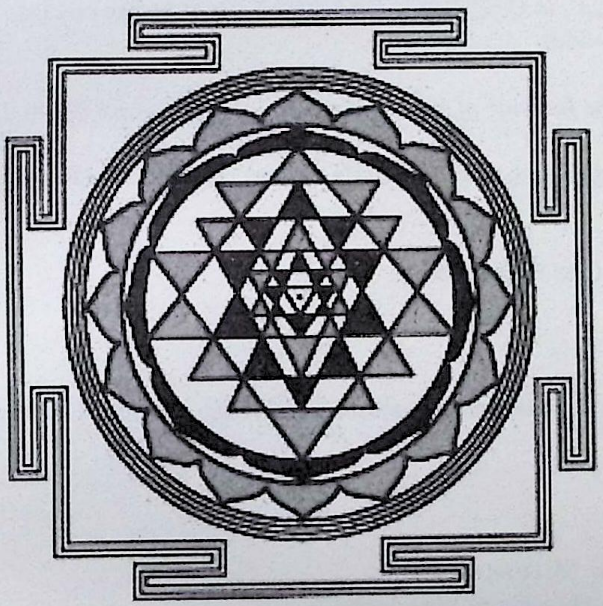

Fig. 2: Śrī Yantra, which represents the cosmos recursively

I would also like to propose that numbers related to the Ṛgveda explain the additional 10 temples within the complex. The number 43, central to the Śrī Yantra, is the count of hymns in the second *maṇḍala* of the Ṛgveda. The first two *maṇḍalas*, which are the base of the 5-layered altar of *mantra*s (Kak 2000a), have a total of 191+43= 234 hymns, which is equal to the count of the 224 temples in the outer yard together with the two *candi apit* and the 8 turret-like *candi kelir* temples inside the surrounding wall of the inner yard.

Conclusion

This essay has found an answer to the puzzle of the dimensions of the Prambanan complex in its use of integer multiples of the dhanus measure. We have suggested that the 224 *candi perwara* are the emanations associated with the Goddess in the Śrī Yantra system. The four terraced sets of *candi* perwara shrines are like the four concentric sets of triangles in the Śrī Yantra.

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The proposed ideas in this essay make the Goddess central to the complex, which is consistent with the traditional view of the Javanese in which it is famous as Candi Loro Jonggrang and not Candi Śiva. It may be assumed that the King-commissioner constructed the temple with multiple dedications to Rāma as the ideal ruler, Śiva as the Great God, and Durgā as the goddess who guides one to inner and outer victory.

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The temple of Dong Duong and the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra*

Hiram Woodward

The key role of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* in Cambodia was recognized by Jean Boisselier (1964), and Max Nihom (1994:119–41) made a case for its importance in Java. A Cambodian stele dating from about the early tenth century added a new dimension, for two reasons (Woodward 2007a). One is that an inscription on the back includes the words of the mantra *oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ*, which made its first appearance in the Sūtra. The other is that the lowermost arms of the Avalokiteśvara are held in a gesture, *pretasaṃtarpita*, "the satiated hungry ghosts," which can also be seen on the back of a stele in the Bangkok National Museum. This name refers to an event in the Sūtra, when water flows from Avalokiteśvara's fingers in order to satiate the thirst of the sufferers. *Pretasaṃtarpita* appears as an iconic type in the Indian text the *Sādhanamālā*, but no contemporary Indian depictions have been identified, giving the Cambodian evidence exceptional interest.[1]

In the decades following the construction of great Buddhist monuments in Central Java in the first half of the ninth century, the lessened scale of Buddhist building activities within Southeast Asia is notable. It may be related to the changed role of China; while in the eighth century flourishing Buddhism and flourishing trade were much intertwined, that ceased to be the case in the following 150 years (Sen 2004). There was one important exception to the general absence of substantial foundations. This was the construction of the temple of Dong Duong in Champa, south of the modern Da Nang, Viet Nam, site of the museum where the sculptures from the temple are housed.

King Jaya Indravarman II's long Dong Duong inscription of 875 CE is engraved on the four faces of a pillar and begins with a brief salutation to the object of dedication, Śrīlakṣmīndralokeśvara (Golzio 2004:61). This is followed by an account of the mythical origins of a state *liṅga* and of the king's genealogy. This framework sets the tone for royal Cambodian inscriptions in the following century. Buddhism never supplanted Hinduism; it was always an additional religion. On the second face, the king declares (B4), "And in making this supreme and eminent Lokeśvara... I shall contribute to the deliverance of the world" (Golzio 2004:71).[2]

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[1] Study of the role of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* has been much facilitated by Studholme 2002. Questions are raised about how well known the text was in India before the tenth century in Woodward 2007a:77. Bautze-Picron 2004 argues that it was well known. The evidence of *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 10.18 is relevant ("May ghosts be refreshed; may they be bathed, and always cooled, by the streams of milk trickling down from the fingers of the noble Avalokiteśvara," Matics 1970:229). For Dunhuang, van Schaik 2006:57, 66–67.

[2] *Imañ ca paramaṃ loke buddhasantānajaṃ varam*
ahaṃ lokeśvaraṃ kartuṃ jagatāṃ syām vimuktaye // (Golzio 2004:65)
The omitted words in the English translation are "born from a succession of Buddhas."

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Stanza B8 of the inscription reads as follows:

duḥkhenābhihatā narāś ca narake kecit tathā nārakā
rātrau vā ca divā tadā ca satataṃ kāṅkṣanti te darśanam /
tarṣābhiś ca narā divākarahatā grīṣme jalaṃ śītalāṃ
ye te draṣṭrum anekaduḥkhavihata vecchanti bhūmau yathā // (Golzio 2004:66)

"Men, over-powered by sorrows, and the dwellers in Hell, long to see thee, day and night; as thirsty men overwhelmed by the heat of the sun long for cool water in summer, so they, suffering from many sorrows, wish to have a view of thine." (Golzio 2004:71)

This clearly evokes Chapter 3 of the Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra, despite the absence of a mention of *preta*. At least four words appear in both texts: *naraka* (hell); *satatam* (constantly); *kāṅkṣa* (long for); and *śītalā* (cool).[3]

There may be elements of the Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra, therefore, to be seen in the design of the temple or in the iconography of the images. Some of the richness of Dong Duong is apparent in the ground plan (Fig.1): a long approach; an image hall, large enough in size to support congregational worship or a gathering of the resident monks (here it will be called an assembly hall); and then, in enclosure I, a four-doored sanctuary and, beyond it, a platform for a primary image.[4] In 1978, in one of the most important archaeological discoveries in Buddhist art in the twentieth century, the main image of the temple was recovered. It had been carefully buried just south of the wall of the first enclosure. That this really was the main image was demonstrated by its size and the proportions of the pedestal (Nguyen 2005:15). The inscription in fact provides the name of this image: *Śrīlakṣmīndralokeśvara*, that is, the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, preceded by a name derived from the king's personal name, Lakṣmīndra-Bhūmīśvara-Grāma (st. B11; Boisselier 1963a:89). Yet little or nothing in the buried bronze could have been anticipated: here is a female image, not a male. Upon the head is an image of an Earth-touching Buddha, under the protection of a *nāga*.[5] The attributes held in the hands were removed by the villagers who dug up the image and are still in their possession: originally the right hand held a lotus, the left hand a conch (Nguyen 2005:16).

When Jean Boisselier published the bronze in 1984, he identified the subject as Tārā. (This was before anyone knew what the missing attributes were.) Boisselier's article is somewhat puzzling because it refers to stone sculptures as Tārā that he had identified in a previous publication (1963a) as Prajñāpāramitā, and the discrepancy is not acknowledged. In the catalogue of the exhibition of Cham

[3] Sanskrit text from http://www.uwest.edu/sanskritcanon/dp/index.php?q=node%2F35&textID =9678279ff4653d4fd2; Studholme 2002:123 (chap. 3). (Incidentally, I was quite wrong in Woodward 2007 b:8 to say that the term *mokṣa* is not used in Buddhist texts; it is found in this section of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* and in the Dong Duong inscription, as well as in Cambodian inscriptions of the tenth century.)

[4] The most thorough account of the original locations of the extant sculptures is to be found in Baptiste and Zéphir 2005:212–32. For additional illustrations, Vandermeersch and Ducrest 1997 (Guillon 2001 is an English version of this publication); Boisselier 1963b; Chutiwongs 2005; Chinese Porcelain Company 2000:35.

[5] In the *Sādhanamālā*, forms of Prajñāpāramitā are described as being adorned with the figure of the Buddha Akṣobhya (Bhattacharyya 1968:197–99); as for Tārā, p. 309.

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sculpture at the Musée Guimet, Paris, in 2005, the Tārā identification was retained (Baptiste and Zéphir 2005:210–11). Meanwhile Nandana Chutiwongs, in the same catalogue, pointed out that in the light of evidence from Cambodia, where inscriptions frequently mention Prajñāpāramitā but never Tārā, the presumption should be that such images represent Prajñāpāramitā (Chutiwongs 2005:71, 85–86).

Prajñāpāramitā appears in the Kāraṇḍavyūha, as the mother of all the Tathāgatas (Studholme 2002:147). Tārā is as absent in Cham epigraphy as in Cambodian. Nevertheless, in the light of the Kāraṇḍavyūha, this bronze icon seems to have more connections with Tārā than with Prajñāpāramitā. The perfection of wisdom complements Avalokiteśvara's compassion: Tārā ("pupil of the eye") extends it, for she personifies Avalokiteśvara's compassionate glance. She is his tears, and her watery qualities stand to Avalokiteśvara as Gangā stands to Śiva.[6] So it is possible to imagine that when cool water flows from Avalokiteśvara's fingertips, he is transforming himself into a Tārā. The conch originally held in Tārā's left hand would, it might be imagined, have held an endless supply of water. The lotus held in her right hand would be one that has risen from the lotus pond into which the torments of hell have been transformed by Avalokiteśvara's supplicating waters.

At the same time, if a stanza (B13) from the inscription is speaking of the king in his manifestation as this image, then the opposite conclusion could be reached — Prajñāpāramitā, not Tārā:

> "Adorned with the riches of Fortune, without equal in respect of royal glory, knowledge, wisdom, splendour, fame, sacred learning, polity, renown, and conduct; protected by Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, the Moon, the Sun, Venus and Saturn; the illustrious Jaya Indravarman shines forth in wisdom." (Golzio 2004:71)

No one shines forth more in wisdom (*prajña*), presumably, than the goddess Prajñāpāramitā herself. As will be seen shortly, in enclosure I, the planets and the sun and moon do appear to be protecting the icon. Therefore, if this image was called a Prajñā, it was a Prajñāpāramitā with strong Tārā-like characteristics.

These suggestions are only the beginning of an analysis of the temple complex, which at this point can only be carried so far. A major missing element, given the style of the sculptures, is the source in China (or possibly Japan) for the stylistic influences (discussed in an article by Dupont, 1950). Still, it is possible to make useful remarks about certain matters: the imagery of the pedestals in the assembly hall and the main sanctuary, and the relationship of the two primary images, the Buddha in the first and the Śrilakṣmīndralokeśvara in the second; the *dvārapāla*; and the system of planets, as embodied in shrines within the first enclosure.

Both pedestals contain reliefs, in registers, but few of the scenes are identifiable. Those that are, on both pedestals, pertain to the life of the Buddha, prior to his enlightenment. On the assembly hall pedestal there are, in addition, certain scenes showing a pair of figures in conversation that might have been inspired by some other text. On the main sanctuary pedestal there are rows of standing

[6] For tears, Hodge 2005:108; the broader theme, Tucci 1949:(2)388.

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figures, some of which might relate to the army of Māra. Although none of them appear to be *preta*, it is possible to think of them as beneficiaries of the mercy of the bronze icon above. One stanza in the inscription (B12) may also be relevant. It says that the king's enemies "become dear unto him when repentant for their action they seek his protection with flattering words" (Golzio 2004:71). The partial duplication of subject matter on the two pedestals suggests that the life experiences (or experiences over a succession of lives) have been comparable for the Buddha — an image of whom stood on the *vihāra* pedestal — and for the monarch, apotheosized as Lakṣmīndralokeśvara. Yet there may be additional ways to think of the relationship between the two images.

Originally the gates at Dong Duong held four pairs of *dvārapāla*, which assumed menacing poses and were of ferocious demeanor (Fig.1). There was some distinction between those on the north and those on the south, with those on the south holding a dagger in the right hand, and those on the north, a *vajra* in the left hand. Especially revealing is *dvārapāla* II-S (it is also the best known, having been sent from the Da Nang Museum to both France and the U. S. for exhibition). He stands on a buffalo, evoking Yama.[7] The weapon in the raised right hand and the hard-to-identify object held by the left hand before the chest are revealing. In the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, chap. 3:

> "... after leaving Avici, the great bodhisattva enters the city of the *preta*s, where the hideouosly deformed and suffering *preta*s call upon him. When Avalokiteśvara appears, the realm begins to cool down, Indra's thunderbolts cease to rain down and the doorkeeper, much to his own surprise, adopts a mind of incessant friendliness." (Studholme 2002:123)

The text actually describes the attributes of this guardian, in a passage that attracted the interest of Max Nihom (1994:139-41, n. 450): "a door-guardian with javelin raised and with the (poisonous) *kālakuṭa* [plant] in hand." The weapon in the right hand of the II-S figure is presumably a *bhiṇḍipāla*, and *kālakuṭa* is "one of the objects produced in the churning of the milk-ocean." It was swallowed by Śiva. The object in the left hand is a snake.[8] So the "poisonous one" is not a plant but a poisonous snake.

Equally applicable to Dong Duong is the statement that the guardian "adopts a mind of incessant friendliness." A surviving *dvārapāla*, once guardian of the first enclosure (northern side), has indicated his friendliness by putting his inside hand on his thigh (Fig.1). This implies that the interior of the first enclosure is a space that has been transformed by the appearance of Avalokiteśvara. Between the gate and the pedestal is a four-doored sanctuary, in which, most likely, an image of the Buddha in *bodhyagrī-mudrā* was originally placed, perhaps about 1.9 meters in height (Chutiwongs 2005:71, 81; Baptiste and Zéphir 2005:213). Although the Lakṣmīndralokeśvara was the subject of the dedication and the dominating presence, it was not in fact the image of the highest status within the space. The image in *bodhyagrī-mudrā* would surely have been Mahāvairocana.

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[7] For this *dvārapāla* as Yamāntaka, Tingley 2009:216. Whether the eight guardians can also be matched up with a set of directional *krodha* (ten, minus the nadir and zenith) is not certain.

[8] Identification by Nancy Tingley (personal communication), with which I concur (visual examination, Asia Society, New York City, 2 Feburary 2010). The horizontal rows at bottom are its coiled body, and its head is lowered.

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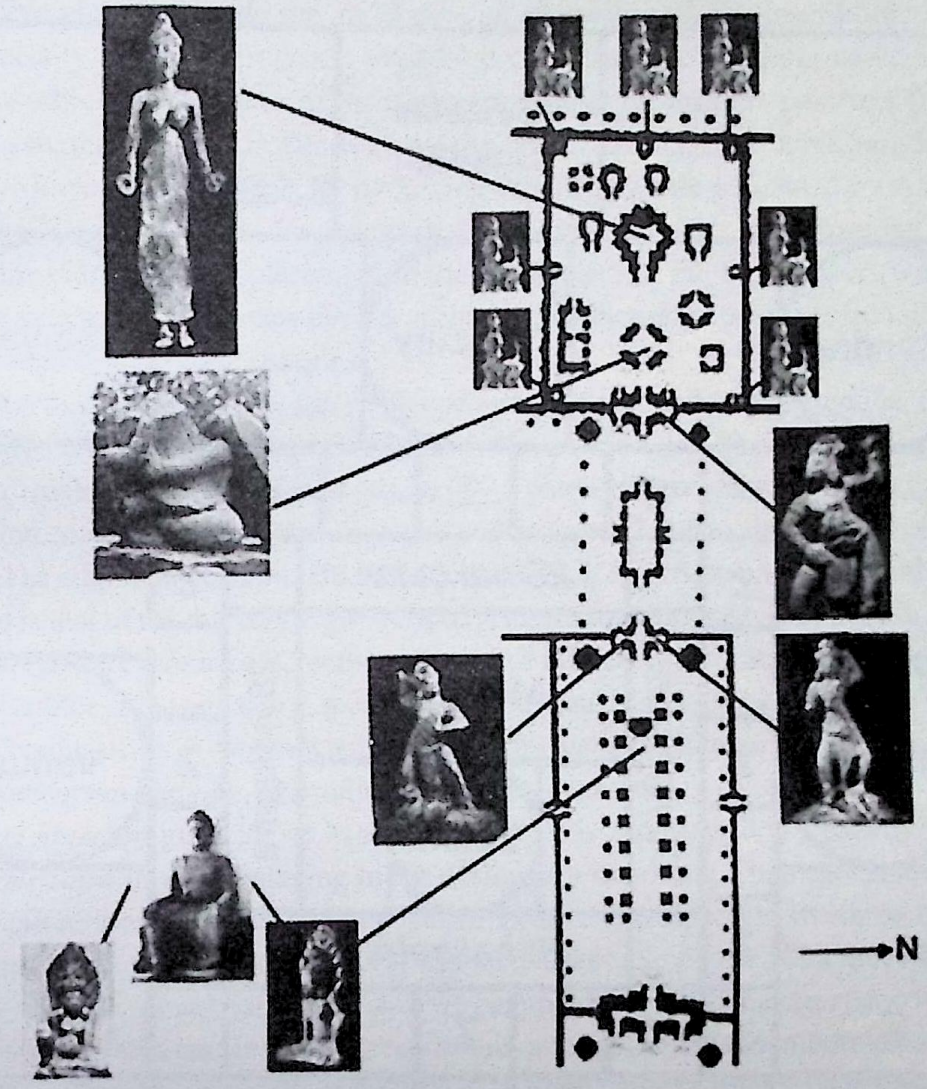

Fig.1: Dong Duong. Plan and selected images. Left, top: Lakṣmīndralokeśvara (Da Nang Museum of Cham Sculpture, H. 1.20 m.). Left, center: Mahāvairocana (original overall height, approximately 1.9 m.). Left, bottom: Buddha from the assembly hall (Da Nang Museum, H. to neck, the head not being original, 1.54 m.); south bodhisattva (Rietberg Museum, Zurich, H. 0.76 m.); north bodhisattva (Da Nang Museum, 0.72 m.). Right, around enclosure I, seven *graha* (the surviving example in the Da Nang Museum repeated seven times, H. 0.91 m.). Gopura I, north side, *dvārapāla* (private U. S. collection, H. 1.96 m.). Gopura II, south side, *dvārapāla* (Da Nang Museum, H. 2.15 m.). Gopura II, north side, *dvārapāla* (Da Nang Museum, H. 2.18 m.). The length of the complex in the visible plan is 305 m. Gopura IV stands another 150 meters to the east. Illustrations from Vandermeersch and Ducrest 1997:100, 105, 106, 111, 112, 117; Boisselier 1963a: plan D; Boisselier 1963b: Fig. 8; Chinese Porcelain Company 2000:35; Chutiwongs 2005:71.

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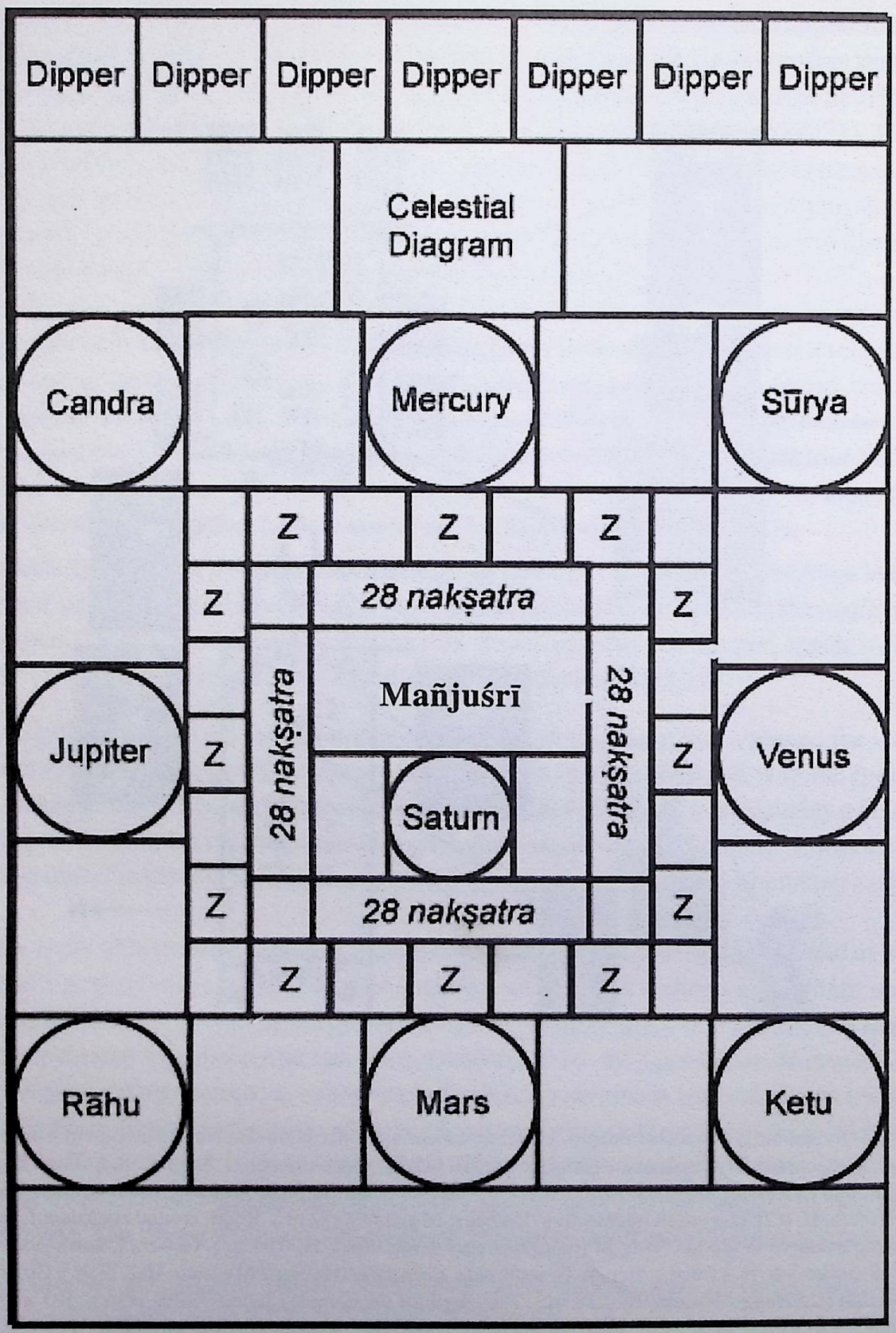

Fig. 2: Planet diagram (adapted from Howard 1982).

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In addition, in small chapels around the enclosure, it appears, seven divinities were originally placed, each sitting on a pedestal adorned with monster masks, a right knee raised, and the left hand holding a dagger with a thick blade upon the prone left knee. These seven figures have been identified as five planets plus the sun and moon, as enumerated in the inscription. This is surely the case, especially as there survives a twelfth-century Japanese diagram, based upon a Tang-prototype, in which the planets occupy a comparably prominent position (reduced to a rudimentary scheme in Fig. 2). The text on the Japanese diagram corresponds to T. 1311 *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* 梵天火羅九曜 by Yixing (68-727), a title translated by Angela Howard (1982) as "The Nine Luminaries [= *navagraha*] and the Indian Art of Horoscopy."[9] Especially intriguing in the diagram is the placement of the seven stars of the Big Dipper (which appear in T. 1311) at the very top. Perhaps they provide a clue to the function of the row of small shrines at the western end of the Dong Duong complex.

The Buddha that was placed on the *vihāra* pedestal was a pendant-leg Buddha, the two hands palm-downwards on the knees. Other Southeast Asian pendant-leg Buddhas usually demonstrate one or another teaching gesture. He was flanked by a pair of figures resembling in many ways the *graha* of the first enclosure, except that they lack pedestals and hold no attributes. Probably they are bodhisattvas. The significance of this Buddha is uncertain. If he is Śākyamuni, the only episode that comes to mind is that of the monkey's gift of honey, representations of which in Pāla art are mostly later in date. Given the evidence of Chinese or Japanese influences, it is tempting to call this Buddha the medicine Buddha, Bhaiṣajyaguru, meaning that the flanking bodhisattvas would have to be the sun and moon bodhisattvas — which would explain why they look like *graha*. If this is the case, then Bhaiṣyaguru succors in one way, Lakṣmīndralokeśvara in another.

Despite the apparent presence of Mahāvairocana, it is not easy to say exactly what role the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* might be playing in the design. An important Cham inscription of 902, the An-thai inscription, speaks of the '*tridhātu*' that appear to correspond to the three families of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (Golzio 2004:89–92; Mabbett 1986). Since the Kāraṇḍavyūha was never translated into Chinese (or not until after 980), we cannot turn to Amoghavajra (say) to explain how the Avalokiteśvara of this text is to be placed within a maṇḍala. If Lakṣmīndralokeśvara is really Prajñāpāramitā, on the other hand, the Mahāvairocana Sūtra could indeed be relevant, especially if it is held that the text can be interpreted to mean that Prajñāpāramitā in fact belongs in a spot more prominent than the one she was given in the Japanese Garbhadhātu.[10]

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[9] The information about Yixing comes from http://buddhism-dict.net/ddb/ (accessed Jan. 2010).

[10] For her position in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, Hodge 2005:107; for her position in the womb-*maṇḍala*, Tajima 1959:84. Sharrock (to appear) proposes (in regard to tenth-century Cambodia) understanding Prajñāpāramitā as the spouse of Sarvavid Vairocana, citing tenth-century Javanese bronze sculptures in which Vairocana sits next to a female deity (see Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:99). It could also be asked if Candi Mendut's structure is in in a general way applicable: the assembly hall would parallel Mendut's sanctuary, and enclosure I would parallel the reliefs of Mendut's exterior walls. I have suggested that the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* might have played a role at Candi Mendut (Woodward 2004:337). I was prompted by a statement in Bernet Kempers 1976:224, which in turn seems to have been dependent on a 1923 article by Krom (translated into English at http://www.borobudur.tv/mendut_environs.htm,

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accessed Jan. 2010), which, finally, was based on a reference to either the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* or to a *Kāraṇḍavyūha*-like scene by Brandes in 1901 or 1902. In fact, the presence of *nāga* heads would appear to make it unlikely that the lotus pond on the southwest face (with Prajñāpāramitā, because of the book) is the lotus pond of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (for a good illustration, http://www.borobudur.tv/Library/Mendut_3_07.jpg, accessed January 2010). Perhaps, as Singhal suggested, the lotus pond is an allusion to the hiding place of the Perfection of Wisdom texts (1985:714). The ramifications of Mevissen's convincing identification (1999) of the female figure on the opposite face as Mahāpratisarā (rather than Cuṇḍa) have yet to be worked out. Nihom (1994: 61–62) pointed out that Lokesh Chandra (in *Bijdragen* 139, 1983, pp. 363-65) had suggested that the Bharālipratisarā of *Kuñjarakarṇa* 2.1 refers to Buddhist goddess Bhaṭāri Pratisarā. This is the entire stanza:

The most eminent of Buddhist goddesses has been initiated,
She had absorbed the very essence of the excellent Law.
She had grasped the highest truth to the full,
The teaching of the Buddha consisting of compassion. (Teeuw and Robson 1981:73)

This opens the possibility that Mahāpratisarā at Mendut stands for the quality of *karuṇā*. The Chinese title of T. 1153 (=*Mahāpratisarā-vidyārājñī*, Amoghavajra, translator) has been translated as *Dhāraṇī of the Great Protectress who is Universally Radiant, Pure, Incandescent, a Wish-granting Gem, and the Sealed Essence of the Invincible King of Mantras* (see http://buddhism-dict.net/ddb/, accessed January 2010). I have not encountered a text in which Mahāpratisarā is specifically paired with Prajñāpāramitā.

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Non-duality in the narrative design of the *Sutasoma*

Kate O'Brien

Introduction

When first studying the Sutasoma *kakawin*[1] some years ago, I found the presence of an embedded *maṇḍala* in the narrative dazzling, to say the least. Considering that a maṇḍala is the key attribute in tantric praxis, perhaps it should not have been so surprising to find it as the medium for the step-by-step progress of Prince Sutasoma to Buddhahood and divine kingship. Certainly it was easy to see that the culmination of the maṇḍala(s)[2] — to be briefly summarized below — occupied more or less the central segment of the poem with the entire first part of the narrative leading up to Sutasoma's Realization as the transcendent Buddha, Mahāwairocana. Without demeaning the 'back half' of the poem, it did seem to be just a succession of cautionary tales whose sole purpose was to endorse Sutasoma as Buddha, divine king and world protector. It is only now as I begin to look more closely at those tales that I realize the whole poem has been crafted into a carefully structured unit and it is the purpose of this paper to examine — if in a somewhat liminal way — the manner of its organization.

Discussing kakawin generally, Supomo (1996:23-7) has pointed out that these literary works were deemed to have special powers in their own right, such as to influence the outcome of battles, regnal prosperity, desirable marriage alliances and the like. Thus the most gifted and renowned among kakawin composers (*kawi*) would be eagerly sought by the royal courts where they would work under patronage of kings and relatives of high nobility. In such a setting, it was natural that a large number of kakawin would be based on courtly tales and while many of these show their Indian antecedents in narrative context, character and place names, yet their descriptions of the natural world and courtly milieu are clearly Javanese.

Such was certainly the case with the Javanese poet Mpu Tantular[3] who lived and worked in the

[1] *Kakawin* are epic poems having their genesis in Indian *kāvya* literature but written in the Old Javanese language. The original title given to this particular kakawin was *Poruṣādaśānta* ("The Man-Eater Appeased") though it is more commonly known today as *Sutasoma*.

[2] There has always been some doubt in my mind as to whether there are two separate maṇḍalas with separate culmination points. Without knowing what Tantra or cycle of Tantras may have provided the background for Tantular's work, it is difficult to say for sure. It is quite possible that it is the progression of one maṇḍala of the Highest Yoga Tantras, e.g. the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* where Mahāvairocana reigns supreme as Ādibuddha as he does in the *Sutasoma*. There are a number of possibilities and these have been discussed at length in my published translation (O'Brien 2008:163-197).

[3] Having been inducted into the service of the king, a *kawi* was permitted to carry the title "Mpu" which seems to have denoted a special priestly status, one who has learned the sacred scripts and mastered their secrets and use to the advantage of his benefactor.

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court of Prince Raṇamanggala, a nephew of King Rājasanagara (r.1350-1389 CE), the great king of the Majapahit dynasty. For his first work, the *Arjunawijaya,* Tantular drew upon an earlier Old Javanese rendering of the Indian *Uttarakāṇḍa;* for the *Sutasoma* he chose an ancient tale of the Buddha-prince who subdued a world-menacing, man-eating demon.[4] This tale is well known in a number of versions throughout Asia and Southeast Asia. Yet Tantular's particular embellishments take it well beyond the realms of a 'localized' tale written to invoke or foretell good fortune for a royal patron though indeed it certainly fulfilled such conditions. The *Sutasoma* is an epic tale of kings and kingship — good and bad.

Tripartite arrangement of the Sutasoma

The narrative is divided into three definable parts:

1. The progress of Prince Sutasoma to Buddhahood via maṇḍala(s) — attaining Realization as Mahāwairocana (54 cantos);
2. Sutasoma(/Mahāwairocana) finds and marries his consort Candrawatī(/Locanā), they become King and Queen of Hāstina (39 cantos);
3. Episodes relating to King Poruṣāda's success in capturing one hundred less-than-ideal kings, the appeasement and salvation of Poruṣāda and the god Mahākāla (54 cantos).

Part 1. The Enlightenment of Sutasoma

The 'ideal' king of the *Sutasoma* is Buddhist — in fact he is the Buddha Wairocana reincarnated by birth in the mortal realm to defend the earth against the violent, evil king, Poruṣāda. However, when Wairocana is born into the cycle of mortal existence as Prince Sutasoma, the Omniscience that is Wairocana becomes that Ignorance into which all sentient beings are born. Thus Sutasoma, born as man, is also ignorant as to his true identity. Moreover, although he is the eagerly-awaited prince foretold to defeat the great demon, Sutasoma refuses to become a king, preferring instead the life of a monk. To be effective in his goal as king and world protector, Sutasoma must be brought to realize, to remember his Wairocana identity in the current life. It is not my intention to delve into that process here in detail other than to say it takes fifty-four cantos of Tantular's lengthy composition to demonstrate that Sutasoma, motivated by compassion, transforms Ignorance into Omniscience through the processes of yoga and the maṇḍala(s), the obligatory aid to meditation in the practices of Tantra, particularly those of the Yoga- and Highest Yoga Tantras.[5] In both classes of Tantra, the ultimate goal is the union of Wisdom and Means.

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[4] Next to nothing is known of Tantular himself and it would seem unlikely that these two were the sum total of his life's work but they are the only known survivors. On stylistic and contextual grounds, it has been proposed that the *Arjunawijaya* preceded the *Sutasoma* — the former appearing around 1379 CE (Supomo 1977:6,14) with a potential completion date for the latter no later than 1389 (Zoetmulder 1974:342).

[5] In the *Sutasoma,* the process is revealed in a sequence of episodes, each one having symbolic reference to the *jinabuddhas* found in maṇḍalas pertaining to the Yoga- and Highest Yoga Tantras: Akṣobhya, Amoghasiddhi, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava and (Mahā-)Vairocana (comprehensively covered in O'Brien 2008:176-189). On the transformation of Ignorance into Omniscience in the *Sutasoma*, see O'Brien (2000:159-178).

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How the Buddhist yogin achieves this Realization through Non-dual yoga as Means combined with the thought of Non-duality held steadfast in the mind (Wisdom) is also explained in Sutasoma's 'sermon' (Canto 41). But as Tantular reiterates several times throughout this work, that which is Absolute Knowledge or Ultimate Truth for Buddhists cannot differ from that achieved or revered by the adherents of other sects. Ultimate Truth is simply not divisible. To other groups it may show another face and other ways of achieving it, but it is one and the same and once achieved, also permits certain supramundane powers that are thought to accrue with such attainment. The one big difference is that according to tantric speculation, Buddhists may only achieve oneness with Truth through total transformation of the senses, a process that is motivated *entirely* by universal compassion. As Sutasoma points out, it is therefore a far surer path than one engaged by a devotee whose sole intent is merely to gain the powers, because even if successful, he remains at the behest of his senses and the desire to use such powers for his own ends is just far too enticing to resist (Canto 40:6*a*-7*d*). Depending on the focus of the yogin, these powers, which include that of becoming a visible form of Rudra (or Wiṣṇu, etc.), can overwhelm even the staunchest of yogic achievers. And indeed throughout the poem we are given numerous examples of such failure, with the main one being Poruṣāda himself.

Very early in the poem when Sutasoma hears the full story of Poruṣāda from his great-uncle, we learn that the great demon king had also gained the favor of the *Paramabuddha* by virtue of his "mystical utterances, yogic concentration and Jina-meditation"(Canto 22:3). However, in spite of having pleased the *Paramabuddha,* it is Lord Rudra (Śiwa) who is sent[6] to bestow the reward: i.e. to become the visible embodiment of Rudra in battle, unable to be vanquished by even the gods, let alone another king. We can be reasonably sure that the reward predestines a flaw in Poruṣāda's nature:

> With the fruits of his performance of penance now exhausted[7], the nature of the great demon has changed,
> His compassion for the world has vanished; his pity for those experiencing grief and misery, ceased,
> As a consequence, the terrible lion's nature which had been the gift of Rudra, has flared,
> Causing the whole world to be seized with panic, spreading even to heaven....

Without compassion, it is Poruṣāda who submits to his desires and becomes controlled by the gift of magical powers, particularly the wrathful form of Śiwa. Even at this early point in the tale, a negative outcome for Poruṣāda in the future confrontation with Sutasoma is predictable. However, at the time of hearing this story from his elderly uncle, Sutasoma is just at the beginning of his journey through the maṇḍala and is thus still ignorant — in fact, in denial — of his divine status.

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[6] That Śiva should be found in a subservient position to Paramabuddha (Mahāwairocana) is well covered in the *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha.* See Snellgrove (1987:134-141) for a comprehensive discussion. Such subservience is also supported in the Old Javanese *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (O'Brien 2008:218-9).

[7] According to the kakawin, Poruṣāda also had a residue of *karmic* reward from a previous life when, as a demon, he had been converted to Buddhist asceticism. He has been reborn as a king but the good *karma* is soon expended.

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When remembrance and realization of his true identity comes with a sudden flash at the completion of the episodes that define the (first?) maṇḍala, we have journeyed through fifty four cantos. Iconographical clues given within the poem suggest that Sutasoma's realization is that of Mahāvairocana according to the Yoga-tantras, the chief Tantra being the *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The main clue is the *bodhyagri-mudrā* displayed by Sutasoma (Canto 53:1) which is exclusive to Mahāvairocana in the *vajradhātu-maṇḍala*.[8]

Part 2. Sutasoma marries his heavenly consort on earth and becomes king

When Sutasoma attains Realization, Tantular has created his ideal and potentially super-powerful king, the transcendent Buddha, Mahāwairocana. But this then creates a dilemma for the *kṣatriya* Sutasoma: as a member of the warrior caste, he is duty bound to defend his people. On the other hand, to be Buddha is to be motivated by compassion for *all* beings, he cannot be party to their destruction under any circumstance. As we enter the middle phase of his narrative, Tantular creates an opportunity to show that in his enlightened hero power and compassion are compatible:

> Sutasoma has taken pity and promises refuge to a wounded demon general who is desperately trying to escape his pursuer. The pursuer is none other than Sutasoma's cousin and future brother-in-law, King Daśabāhu, though neither of them is as yet aware of this. When Daśabāhu eventually catches up with his quarry, he is angered by the sight of a person showing such obvious concern for the demon. He assumes Sutasoma must also be a member of the enemy horde and immediately attacks the pair, only to see his most ferocious weapons transformed into things of peace and benevolence (Canto 56:2-4). Daśabāhu is immediately subdued by his gentle and compassionate adversary, and then elated to find that it is his first cousin, Sutasoma. It has been a long-held family plan that his young sister, Candrawatī, will marry Sutasoma and at last Daśabāhu has found him.[9]

This episode with Daśabāhu is more significant than it at first seems. It is the first time since Realization that Sutasoma's powers have been called into play — and he uses them without being exhorted or assisted by Indra. Pre-realization (during the maṇḍala process), Indra had been on hand in cases of high confrontation to prompt the prince into the use of the yoga with *bodhyagri-mudrā* as a means of repelling violence.[10]

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[8] In symbolism attached to the *bodhyagri-mudrā,* Absolute Knowledge and Relative Knowledge are merged — two sides of the same coin that is Omniscience or *bajrajñāna*. It also signifies the union of Means and Wisdom. For the full range of symbolism attached to this *mudrā*, see Saunders (1985:102-107).

[9] It appears that Daśabāhu has known the true identities of Sutasoma and Candrawatī for a long time through his own yogic endeavors. As soon as they marry, it is his plan to surrender his right (as elder sibling) to the throne of Kāśī to the divine couple and enter their service as commander of the combined armies of Hāstina and Kāśī.

[10] However, when Sutasoma eventually does confront Poruṣāda much later in the kakawin and the gods are drawn to try and dissuade Poruṣāda from attacking Sutasoma, it will be Indra again who prompts Sutasoma to use the yoga of the *bodhyagri-mudrā* to again subdue the great demon king who, by his own yoga, has assumed a militant (Rudra) form of Parameśwara. In this instance, Sutasoma brings forth the *bajratīkṣṇa* which is "like the sun in appearance" and which completely encompasses the wrath of the god (Canto 137-38). On the post-Realization of the use of the sun-like *bajra* compared with the moon-like weapon of pre-Realization, see O'Brien (2008:234).

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But it is the main concern of the central segment of the poem (39 cantos) to show that Sutasoma — still a prince at this stage — will become the universal monarch that the world needs to defeat the great demon. At the moment of Realization, Sutasoma finally remembers why he is on earth and that as Mahāwairocana in heaven, he had made a vow with his consort, Locanā, that they would meet on earth and unite again in their human form.[11] The moment he sees Candrawatī, he recognizes her as Locanā and falls in love with her.[12] She is more than a little hesitant at first but on their wedding night she eventually recalls her divine status — essential in the perfection of Wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) — and the marriage is consummated in an environment that is clearly described in terms of a maṇḍala.[13] Theirs is the perfect union of Means (yoga) and Wisdom (recollection) but at a level that can only be commensurate with the Highest Yoga Tantras.[14] They combine both divinity and humanity, and with their succession to the throne of Hastinā, they are both supreme Buddha-deities and perfectly matched King and Queen. Epitomizing Non-duality, the *saṃsāric* world of his secular kingdom is one with *nirvāṇa;* the *kraton* of his worldly realm one with the 'palace' of the maṇḍala. Perhaps more importantly for his worldly subjects, he is a worthy claimant to the title of *cakravartin.*

When the couple has brought forth a son, their dynastic obligations are fulfilled and the central segment of the poem is abruptly closed and the story straightaway switches to Poruṣāda's world.

Part 3. The capture of 100 kings, the appeasement and salvation of Poruṣāda and the god Mahākāla

With the beginning of Canto 94, the tale has switched from Hāstinapura (now ruled by Sutasoma) to Ratnakaṇḍa where King Poruṣāda has already gathered about him a sizeable army of demons. On this particular day, however, Poruṣāda has been hunting human prey in the forest by himself. He has gashed his foot during the chase, a bad infection quickly set in and he now lies weak and ill, isolated from help. Realizing he may well die, he invokes *bhaṭāra* Kāla for help, vowing to make a food offering of one hundred kings to the god if he is granted life. His entreaties are heard and Poruṣāda straightaway makes plans to fulfill his oath. He sets out with his army, the first kingdom to be raided being Mālawa (Canto 95).

i) Mālawa

The initial contact with the inhabitants of Mālawa is one of intimidation, the demons instilling great fear with their gross looks and behavior. King Mahācandra tries to defend his palace with his army who are quickly overrun and flee in terror, leaving the king to bravely face the demons alone.

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[11] This is first explained to Candrawatī by her attendant, Surāga, who relates that when Sutasoma had completed his asceticism, he desired "attainment of the *dharma* of Supreme Bliss (*paramasukha*) – this is why the prince became a man again" (Canto 59:4). Supreme Bliss relates to the culmination of deity yoga of two beings, male and female (Means and Wisdom), such as are found at the center of maṇḍalas belonging to the Highest Yoga Tantras.

[12] Surāga: "Clearly, because of his steadfast self-control, he has been able to see everything in the world, So, he comes already knowing of your loveliness, that you will truly be a queen among those of beauty, You will be the perfect match as his wife, indeed you will be the good fortune of the whole kingdom" (Canto 59:5; O'Brien 2008:74).

[13] See for example Cantos 67:1-3 and 72:1-2 (O'Brien 2008:78-9, 83).

[14] "Clearly my asceticism will attain its fruition, my dearest, if you do not resist my advances..." (Canto 81:2 d; O'Brien 2008:92).

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However, he is soon seized from above by Poruṣāda and carried off. The queen and the rest of the palace are distraught and there is some concern that she will try to follow the king, perhaps even commit *sati.* When eventually the surviving Mālawa warriors reassemble, it is decided that word should be sent to King Daśabāhu, the military commander of the combined forces of Hāstina. Flushed with success, Porusada captures more kings:

> Some [Kings] had been attacked even while they were amusing themselves by the sea, seeking the beauties of nature,
> And some were taken in the forest while they were preparing to take on the most savage king of beasts,
> Not to mention those who were taken by surprise by the mighty enemy as they slept, Or the many who were overpowered and captured during royal rituals of invincibility!
> (Canto 95:14)

In any event, by the time the kingdoms of *Kamboja*, *Mithila*, *Lĕngkā*, *Kaśmir*, *Wallabha* and others have been similarly raided, the captured kings number ninety-nine. For the last one required, Poruṣāda turns his attention to the kingdom of Singhala.

ii) Singhala

Whereas the initial raids had been related in the space of just one canto, the encounter with King Jayawikrama of Singhala attracts considerably more attention, involving twelve cantos (96-107; O'Brien 2008:107-118). The sheer weight of space given over to this episode compared to other raids suggests that great importance was to be placed on its contents: the lengthy palace dialogues, the ensuing fight, and the duties of the righteous queen. Its protracted battle scenes are second only to the final major battle between the demon army and the forces of Hāstina.

The threat of imminent attack causes King Jayawikrama to prepare his army for battle. He then summons his chief minister, Pramoda, who is also a Buddhist, and Bāṇa, "son of a Brahman", for their counsel. The venerable Pramoda is the first to speak. He appeals to the king to leave the palace and seek refuge in Hāstinapura, make preparations for battle there. Because as he says — those kings, who fled before battle are safe whereas those who tried to match Poruṣāda are now captive. Pramoda tries diplomatically to warn Jayawikrama that he is no match for the Rudra-powers of Poruṣāda and Poruṣāda will certainly not allow the king his *kṣatriya* right to die in battle. He needs the king alive. Jayawikrama is angered by Pramoda's advice and savagely berates his minister with a lengthy speech on kingly obligations of bravery and his own determination to defend his palace — after all, he argues, one who indulges all the trappings of kingship but flees his duty on the battlefield, is not fit to have been king in the first place. At the same time he accuses Pramoda of cowardice. Bāṇa then delivers an egotistical address also highly critical of the chief minister and full of brag and bravado, further inciting the other princes and the army to battle.

Pramoda then cautiously defends himself and his Mahāyānist beliefs in an extended reply. It is a discourse worth looking at in some detail, since in its own way, it mirrors in the second half of the

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kakawin the rather lengthy "sermon" given by Sutasoma in the first half. Whereas Sutasoma's "sermon" explains the path of yoga for the ascetic devotee, Pramoda's discourse provides a context for the use of yoga by those who engage in battle, which is the world of the *kṣatriya*:

Canto 98

1 Then the venerable chief minister addressed the king, choosing his words carefully:
"It is true that the one who stands before you is worthless and ignorant of tactics.
I have great affection for Your Majesty and am concerned for the *dharma* of incarnation,
That is why I appear hesitant, as if not wanting to follow into battle.

2 "And yet while the ultimate aim in Mahāyāna is to become totally absorbed in steadfast yoga,
It is unthinkable that I would not stand by Your Majesty in times of trauma.
The more so since I am already advanced in years and have enjoyed happiness and pleasure, jewels, gold,
Women and the like. Only death remains as the final *dharma* and it should not be neglected.

3 "For that reason, I think about my situation in this way:
It is like — for instance — being a peasant for whom at first there was an abundance of rice.
He had worked hard cultivating the paddy, never neglecting to weed it,
Consequently, his rice barn was filled to overflowing and he became wealthy.

4 "He was happy, as was his household, especially his children;
The whole family rejoiced, eating and drinking.
Then came the time when, because of the season, the rice was exhausted,
And once again, he made ready to grow rice for future food.

5 "And in my view this is how a distinguished hero should be:
Appearing ruthless and unrelenting in the midst of battle, fulfilling the *dharma* of rice, as it were.
As he diligently pursues the enemy, he is nurturing the 'seeds' of death,
At any moment he could be enjoying happiness, the finest food and other good things in the eminent state of death.

6 "According to the *paṇḍita*, the essence of the sacred doctrine is that there are four kinds of superior persons:
There are those persons who unselfishly continue to give food during times of famine;
Those who are cheerful and never irritable; [those] who remain gracious even when they are being criticized;
Those who are exceedingly brave and unflinching on the battlefield and strive to be at the front,

7 "For their thoughts are constantly focused on Parameśwara as the highest god.
Every night they make obeisance, facing toward the world of men.

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When they die, the sun splits open and makes of his innermost core a shining path for them
Leading to the highest heaven — which is truly amazing.

8 "In short, Your Majesty, the most difficult [thing] is being unwavering towards duty,
That is why those in command practice some sort of *tapa saprahāra*.[15]
Attachment can be so strong and so deceptive that an army can become confused and run away,
Crushed by the overwhelming and tumultuous power of the enemy which is like a great earthquake.

9 "But if the king's mind is resolute, he takes no part in the flight,
He is steadfast and unafraid to face the frenzied onslaught of the enemy horde.
Unfaltering when attacked from all sides by the weapons of the enemy,
As soon as he dies, he is met by Wiṣṇu.

Canto 99

1 "But if a king is in two minds about the outcome of a battle to come,
It would be best for him to go and stay alive, to leave the kingdom, forsake it,
For it is not appropriate for a *kṣatriya* to retreat from the field of battle,
So said Lord Kṛṣṇa to Pārtha — words which boded well for the victorious Pāṇḍawas.

2 "What if your ministers and troops were to run away, even so?
Without them, even a person of the most extraordinary courage taking on this enemy would be destroyed,
Then anything one says is as pointless as a eunuch with a lady friend,
Your Majesty will see soon enough how the army conducts itself in battle.

3 "Then only Your Majesty's younger brothers would be left to challenge the enemy,
Together with the son of your chief Brahman — they would all try to be a match in battle.
Moreover, anyone apart from just these you should not look to,
Obviously they will have all turned tail, cowed and in fear of even the lower rank demons.

4 "It is right that I die here and now in the presence of Your Majesty,
It simply will not be possible for me to halt the onslaught of the king of demons,
Since I am lowly, weak, without good qualities, how could I possibly be victorious?
It is true, I am worthless and should die like a slave, begging at your feet."

From the above, there would seem to be a sub-text of conflict between those who practice Buddhism and those who practice Śiwaism in the court. While the king has seen fit to appoint both a Buddhist and a Brahman into highly influential positions in his court, there is obviously no love lost between the two. This might have been nothing more than antagonism on a personal level, if Pramoda had not

[15] Zoetmulder (1982:1383) notes that *saprahāra* occurs in several OJ sources in connection with yoga though its meaning is unclear, perhaps a technical term. Since the prime meaning given is "for a moment; on the instant", one may ponder whether it is a yoga that is performed on the spur of the moment, such as during battle.

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begun his second dialogue by pointing out that there is no conflict between his convictions as a Buddhist who concentrates on the path of steadfast yoga and his duty as minister and *kṣatriya.* This raises the possibility that in the tirades against Pramoda, there is allusion to minister's adherence to Mahāyāna Buddhism (yoga/compassion/pacifism) as being synonymous with cowardice.

In defense of a Mahayanist's aim to become totally absorbed in yoga, Pramoda points to the yoga practiced by the most courageous and unflinching warriors in war. At night and during battle such a warrior constantly focuses on Parameśwara who does not desert him in death but prepares a brilliant shining path to heaven itself. Moreover, such yogic practices ensure that warriors are free of attachment to the world. Without such detachment, warriors easily become overcome by fear and confusion and more likely to take flight in the face of a superior enemy. A king in battle must remain steadfast and fight to the death — even if his army has run away — for he will be met and rewarded by Wiṣṇu.

Though he clearly has Jayawikrama's interest at heart, the loyal Pramoda's advice to retreat before the battle is rebuffed by the king and the Singhala forces go to war. True to his prediction, the terrified army breaks rank and flees, Bāṇa hides. When Pramoda bravely dies, only Jayawikrama is left standing, having assumed a militant form of Wiṣṇu. His heroism and determination to fight to the death make it apparent to Poruṣāda that he will never be taken alive and he has no choice but to kill the king.

The death of Jayawikrama and the sacking of his palace might well have been the end of the Singhala episode, but Tantular still has one more issue to take up with the king: the plight of the queen, Marmawatī who has been wrongly repudiated by her husband when a love kakawin found by her in the garden and re-copied by her hand, leads to false accusations of infidelity when discovered by the king. Spurned by her husband, the beautiful young queen takes refuge in a remote hermitage run by her father, a former king but now a renowned sage. When news of Jayawikrama's end in battle reaches the hermitage, the queen who is still in love with her husband, is devastated that she has not had the chance to follow him in death. She decides to prove her fidelity by returning to the palace and taking her own life beside his dead body. The verses describing her departure from the hermitage are poignant as are those describing her fruitless search for his corpse on the battlefield itself, for it leads her to lament that it must be his lingering animosity towards her that stops her finding him. All the other women of the palace have nobly sacrificed themselves beside their loved ones amid the carnage.

Finally the mystery is solved when a witness reports that being in a divine form at death, the king's body was consumed by a blazing fire, reducing it to finest white dust which "suddenly vanished on a gust of wind". Her course is now clear. To prove her virtue, she commands a pyre to be constructed upon which she bravely throws herself with great ritual before an audience of grieving followers. In astonishment some claim to see her being received lovingly by her husband in heaven, feted by the gods with a shower of blossoms.

This lengthy cameo of King Jayawikrama and Queen Marmawatī set among Poruṣāda's pursuance of the one hundred kings is a tale of mixed messages. The king is quick-tempered and

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over-confident, his impetuosity matched only by the Brahman's son to whom he listens, rather than his stoic, even-tempered and more experienced minister. There is also a hint of religious intolerance in his decision. On the plus side, the king's valor and determination to fulfill his duty in battle by fighting to the finish is never in doubt and Wiṣṇu does not desert him.

Apart from Pramoda, the one who emerges with the most honor is Marmawatī — she would seem to epitomize the ideal queen: beautiful, serene, compassionate, loved by all her subjects, faithful and resolutely loyal to her jealous and impulsive husband. As if to emphasize the role of the queen as a jewel among royal women, Tantular devoted five cantos to her courage, grace and determination to carry out her convictions.

iii) Widharba

With the death of Jayawikrama, Poruṣāda is forced to look elsewhere for the last king needed to make up the one hundred promised to the god, Kāla. He decides on the King of Widarbha (Canto 108) but realizing this king — unnamed — is even more secure in his kingdom than was Jayawikrama, Poruṣāda adopts a more devious ploy to take the king by surprise. Much to the amusement of his troops, he takes on the appearance of an old and eminent Brahman in priestly garb of the best finery and makes the journey to Widarbha alone, intoning mantras and sacred texts along the way.

When Poruṣāda arrives at the Widarbha palace he finds the whole court and its armies absorbed in a show of worship and costly sacrificial ceremonies being conducted by clerics of the major sects, rituals by which it is hoped victory might be attained in the expected war against the demon hordes. His true identity goes unsuspected and the king is truly pleased to greet what appears to be a saintly old man. The king is apologetic, there is very little left in the palace to offer in the way of alms. The 'Brahman' however claims that the showy rituals and expensive offerings are clear signs to the gods that the king has more on his mind than *pūjā*. The king admits that his oblations are to seek divine favors in war, since he has no intention of surrendering himself to become food for a god, preferring to die in battle. This last statement incenses Poruṣāda who casts off his priestly disguise, grabs the struggling king and flies off with him to the stunned amazement of those in attendance.

In summary, this episode — though much briefer in its telling (three cantos) — is just a variation on the previous episode in Singhala. At its heart is a self-confident king who will risk destruction of himself and his kingdom rather than be taken alive. What separates him from the Singhala king is his preparedness to so openly invoke the gods and indulge all his holy men and indeed his whole army in expensive ritual. As will later be seen, there is a sense that so much pomp and show is somewhat worthless.

With one hundred kings now in his possession, Poruṣāda approaches the god Kāla (Canto 111) to make his offering. But the god is dissatisfied because the earlier-captured kings are ill and emaciated from neglect, far from appropriate fare. What he now wants is the King of Hāstina, Sutasoma.

iv) The battle of Hāstina

Accompanied by his great army, Poruṣāda sets off for Hāstina. In the meantime, word has reached

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Hāstina of the imminent attack. As the enlightened Buddha, King Sutasoma is utterly opposed to war, preferring to surrender himself to Poruṣāda as the offering to Kāla. He calls a council to be attended by Daśabāhu and all the kings and princes who have taken refuge in Hāstina, to announce his decision. He points out that given Poruṣāda's ability to adopt the great Rudra form, they will be no match whatever. Daśabāhu and the others will not hear of surrender. The chief minister, Jayendra, agrees that King Sutasoma as the visible form of Buddha and Śiwa, is all-knowing and all-seeing and may well foresee defeat, but capitulation is completely out of the question. Better physical death than the disgrace of not having defended one's king, for the result would surely be hell on earth. When and if all their armies have failed, *then* might be the time for Sutasoma to surrender if he so wishes. One after another, the kings pledge their support. The only dissenting voice in the hall is that of the chief Brahman who sees and understands Sutasoma's superior wisdom and power; who sees and understands that even now Poruṣāda only lives by virtue of Sutasoma's universal compassion. In a great show of valor and finery, the army of Hāstina determinedly marches off to war.

Some twenty-five cantos are needed to relate this battle, from its inception by both sides at the planning stage, the colorful parades of warriors departing for war, to the numerous terrifying battles as well as one-on-one combat between individuals.

Fortune fluctuates with each battle in the great conflict (seventeen cantos). One by one, the great heroes on both sides meet their end. Poruṣāda has not taken part in the battle, disappointed that Sutasoma had not emerged to lead his troops. However, he is forced to take up arms when Daśabāhu kills one of his most eminent commanders. The ensuing battle between Daśabāhu and Poruṣāda is savage. Being physically well matched, neither combatant is able to gain and sustain the upper hand. When Poruṣāda is finally pinned, he escapes by invoking the gift of becoming the embodiment of Mahārudra. This is answered by Daśabāhu adopting his divine militaristic form as Jagatkāraṇa, but to no avail and he succumbs to the superior power of Mahārudra. The tide of battle has turned irrevocably and the jubilant Poruṣāda goes on a rampage of destruction.

v) The appeasement of Poruṣada

In order to prevent further carnage, Sutasoma goes to surrender himself to Poruṣāda (Canto 137). But as he travels, the countryside is renewed and restored to its former beauty; all the kings and armies of Hāstina are brought back to life. This further enrages Poruṣāda who, as Mahārudra, unleashes the mightiest of his weapons against Sutasoma, only to see them transformed into things of peace and beauty. Now Poruṣāda transforms into Kālāgnirudra in the form of fire, which threatens to engulf the three worlds. The gods, led by Indra, intervene and beseech the great demon to listen. Poruṣāda can never defeat Sutasoma, Sutasoma is Buddha and are not Buddha and Śiwa two aspects of the same Truth? The gods then equate the finer aspects of Truth: Brahmā is Ratnasambhawa, Mahāmara is Amitābha, Wiṣṇu is Amoghasiddhi, and Poruṣāda as Īśwara is "the essence of Akṣobhya" (Canto 138:6). However, the rage of Poruṣāda in the Kālāgnirudra form is uncontrollable and Indra prompts Sutasoma to use the yoga of the *bodhyagri-mudrā* to dispel the god's anger. A *bajra* weapon glowing like the sun issues from Sutasoma and encompasses the god's wrath. Rudra

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leaves Poruṣāda who falls faint. On recovery, he tries to re-assume Rudra's embodiment but cannot. He then discovers that Sutasoma has come to offer himself as the sacrifice to Kāla in place of the hundred kings and is immediately overwhelmed by Sutasoma's generosity and compassion. He is completely won over and begs to be allowed to follow as a disciple.

vi) The pacification of Mahākāla

But this is not the end of the tale; Sutasoma still insists on becoming the sacrifice in order to save the kings. When he arrives at the abode of Mahākāla[16], Sutasoma summons the god and demands that the hundred kings be released. Before giving them their freedom, Sutasoma lectures them on kingship, reminding them that they had all been subject to their own folly and that was why the evil one had gotten such a hold in the world. Therefore they were not to seek revenge. Sutasoma then calls on Mahākāla to proceed. The god grabs him by the waist and tries several times to stab him but the knife will not make contact. The god then transforms himself into a serpent and tries to devour Sutasoma but again is unable. Sutasoma's kind words and lack of fear win over the god who begs for forgiveness.

With Poruṣāda and Mahākāla now penitent, Sutasoma gives the assembled group an important instruction on the value of yoga and its pitfalls. Whoever they direct their yoga to, their motives *must* be above reproach. Brahmā, Wiṣṇu and Śiwa are especially responsive and will refuse nothing, even violence, anger, lawlessness and such. This cannot happen when practice is directed to the Paramārtha-Buddha "who is the teacher of Brahmā, Wiṣṇu and Śiwa" (Canto 146:1-5) and whose presence is only to be found within and only by the dedicated yogin.

The tale ends when all the protagonists are returned to life and a huge celebration is held in Hāstina for all participants to mark the end of evil and hostilities and the beginning of a peaceful era. At the end of their lives, Sutasoma and Candrawatī return to their heavenly abode. Their son, the righteous Ardhana, who is considered by all to be the embodiment of King Sutasoma, succeeds them.

The structure of the Sutasoma

The tale is comprised of one hundred and forty-eight cantos[17] and as we have seen, the work can be divided into three parts:

1. Fifty-four cantos relating Sutasoma's progress to Realization;
2. Thirty-nine cantos leading to the marriage of Sutasoma and Candrawatī (her Realization as Locanā) and their accession to the throne;

[16] It is at this point in the tale (Canto 139:12, O'Brien 208:156) that Kāla is referred to as Mahākāla.

[17] In my publication the last canto is numbered 147. The apparent shortfall was due to one canto being missing from the Zoetmulder manuscript. Whether it was simply overlooked or perhaps deliberately extracted for some reason, is unclear but its existence in the *Sutasoma* (as Canto 124) is acknowledged in Zoetmulder's *Kalangwan* (1974:457 under the metre *Praharṣiṇī*). Since and its inclusion maintains narrative flow and logic in context, it was included in my translation as 124a, bringing the total number of cantos to 148. The referenced canto can be found in Santoso's 1975 edition (p. 517).

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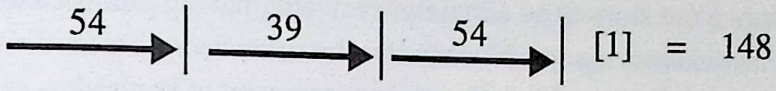
3. Fifty-four cantos relating the capture of the one hundred kings; the subduing of Poruṣāda and Mahākāla; the victory of righteous kingship and the attainment of peace.

Fig.1 

This gives a total of one hundred and forty-seven cantos; the one hundred and forty-eighth canto is solely for the praise of Tantular's benefactor, Prince Raṇamanggala, and to the eulogizing of the great king of Majapahit, Rājasanagara.

Overall, the *Sutasoma* is sparkling and vivid in its narration. Although somewhat veiled, it reveals much about its tantric Buddhist influence, particularly the first fifty-four cantos, showing the Realization of the yogin through compassion and mastery of self and the senses. Wisdom and Means are unified in ascetic practice. The central section is overtly sensual and romantic as befits the world of existence, yet it still lies within the maṇḍala (as will shortly be suggested in Fig. 3) where it now shows the influence of the Highest Yoga Tantras. Here, Means and Wisdom are unified on the physical level by a divine king and queen. Buddha and consort, they are the ultimate among rulers. The third section as we have seen belongs purely to the consequences of bad kingship in the world — mitigated to a certain extent by the inset of the good and virtuous queen and the loyalty of a brave and wise minister.

The narrative operates on a number of levels of meaning — on a spiritual plane, the Buddhist path to 'salvation' based on tantric practice is seen as the best path. The embedded maṇḍala(s) are only recognizable by virtue of subtle reference to symbolism belonging to the *jina-buddhas*. For the secular world there are practical lessons for kingship: to listen to the opinions of their advisers[18], not to be impetuous or overawed by their own power, not to be cruel, not to be covetous of other kingdoms, to be vigilant at all times, to be diligent in the performance of religious duties, to be compassionate, honest and virtuous. But as I have proposed in my published translation, there is also allegory — I believe that Sutasoma is an allegory for the 14th-century king, Kṛtanagara (O'Brien 2008:236-46). While historical reality has become subsumed in myth as far as this narrative is concerned, yet Kublai Khan and his empire-forging is recognizable in Poruṣāda, Mahākāla is the tutelary divinity of Kublai and indeed the Yuan dynasty, and the final great serpent is the dragon which, although already an ancient symbol in China, was taken exclusively as the symbol of the Yuan emperors (O'Brien 2008:282, note 47).

Symbolism of the tripartite arrangement

Comprising 148 cantos (1,221 verses), the *Sutasoma* is undoubtedly lengthy with a narrative

[18] With the emphasis that has been placed on the advice of chief ministers throughout the work, one wonders if Tantular at this point had in mind the reputation of Gajah Mada who was a powerful military leader and chief minister during the reign of King Rājasanagara.

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continuum threaded here and there with collections of seemingly disparate, cameo tales. Without awareness of the extent of its tantric Buddhist background, of underlying features such as the embedded maṇḍala(s), it is perhaps not unreasonable that it was initially judged by Western scholarship as a long, drawn out story. And certainly, even after having glimpsed the maṇḍala, the symbolism, the allegory, it did cross my mind to wonder why it was necessary for the third part of the kakawin to be so long. With the final confrontation and appeasement of Poruṣāda — even taking into consideration the great and lengthy battle which precedes it — absorbing only half of the final third part, one has to assume there was good reason for stretching the third part so far, with so much detail in selected examples of failed kingship. However, if there is one lesson to be learned with the *Sutasoma,* it is that *nothing* exists in it without reason. Therefore I very much doubt that it was just an exercise to see how long a composition the kakawin could be.

Neither is it entirely acceptable as coincidence that there are exactly 54 cantos 'in' and 54 'out'. Given that the middle 39 refer to the attainment of the right queen and kingship as the Buddha in life, does the equal number of cantos either side merely point to a perceived balance between Poruṣāda and Sutasoma which plays out eventually with the triumph of good kingship over bad? And certainly the number 54 cannot be without significance. For example there are 54 letters in the Sanskrit alphabet, each has male and female energies (*śiva and śakti*), giving 108 — a number that has special importance in the philosophies of much of South Asia and Southeast Asia, emerging in countless forms from prayer beads to temple architecture.[19] And what about the number 39? Though I am not aware of any special significance to be attached to this figure, certainly there are a number of seemingly extraneous episodes attached to the meeting and marriage of the royal couple to cause one to wonder if the middle section, too, was not being deliberately 'stretched'.

Also to be factored in to any argument for or against numerical significance, is the risk of interpolation or deletion by subsequent copyists, for even one canto either way would negate any theory along these lines. On the other hand, my impression is that there is such good logical flow in the context of the narrative as to suggest that any additions or deletions could at best only involve verses rather than whole cantos.

If a case can be made for a tripartite arrangement of the *Sutasoma,* then it would be reminiscent of a similar pattern in Candi Jago. In discussion of this shrine I put forward the possibility that the arrangement of narrative bas-reliefs around its walls is governed by a maṇḍala, the placement of scenes having particular reference to symbolism attached to the *jina-buddhas* (O'Brien 1993:245-271) — indeed, in much the same manner as a sequence of episodes in the first part of the *Sutasoma.*[20] It was also suggested that the ground plan of Jago was designed on the basis of two *cakras* (Fig. 2): one relative to the maṇḍala, the other relative to the Wheel of Existence (O'Brien 1993:316-327). With the overlap of these two *cakras,* a third segment was formed in the exact center of the ground

[19] For an in-depth discussion on the recurrence and relevance of the number 108 as well as the pairing of 54 in the architecture and embellishment of Angkor Wat, see Eleanor Mannikka 1996:27-48.

[20] See note 5 above.

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plan where a relief showing Prince Arjuna at the height of his successful meditation was located.[21] If the holiest part of the shrine is located in the *cella* (center of the maṇḍala), the most significant point as regards yogic attainment by earthly kingship is in the very center of the plan. In a similar way, yogic attainment by earthly kingship occupies the center of the kakawin, from Sutasoma's Realization to his union with Candrawatī which is deity yoga at the most supreme level of tantric practice.

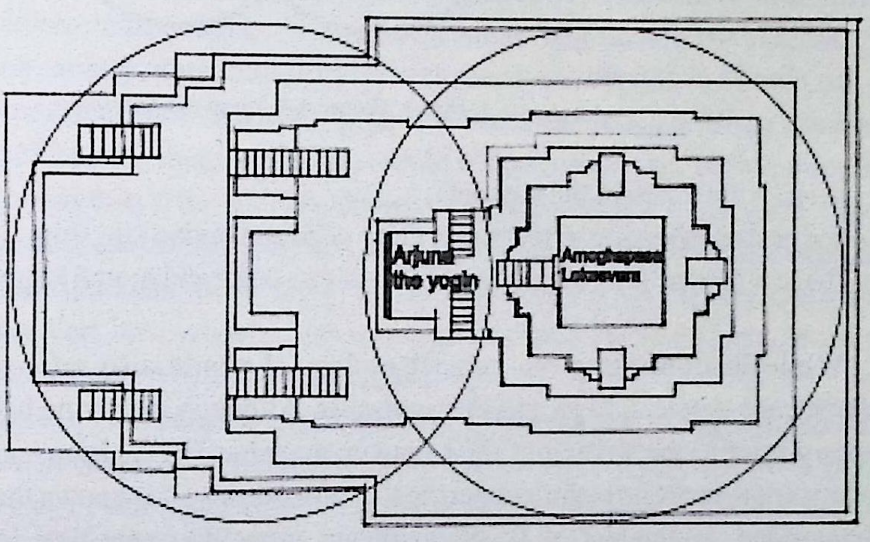

Fig. 2: Jago ground plan showing *maṇḍala-cakra* at right, *saṁsāra-cakra* at left.

Is it possible that a similar paradigm was operating in the *Sutasoma*? Not in the three-dimensional sense of Jago, but still carrying the perception of two realms: the realm of the maṇḍala and the realm of existence and their union. Whereas Jago sets the fully enlightened king within the area of fusion, the poem has taken it to the next level where the same area is occupied by the accomplished king and queen who are at the same time Mahāwairocana and his consort, Locanā. In their space, polarity between the two realms is dissolved in the state of Non-Duality (Fig. 3).

[21] In this concept of overlapping circles, one is reminded of the *vesica piscis,* an ancient but similar geometrical motif. The range of meanings attached to this symbol is vast, varying according to the culture employing it, being well known in both Eastern and Western cultures. In very general terms, the ovoid-shaped space formed by the overlap represents the intersection of the material and spiritual worlds. At yet another level, the individual circles symbolize duality, polarity (e.g. male and female, god and goddess, sun/moon, etc.), their intersection brings forth unity wherein duality and polarity is dissolved into a non-duality (offspring, divine offspring, etc.). While the Jago 'circles' are not positioned to their exact centers as seems to be the case with the *vesica piscis,* one may interpret them with precisely the same range of symbolism.

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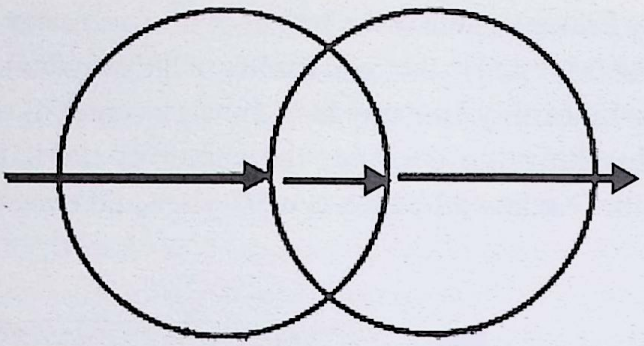

Fig. 3: Progress through the *Sutasoma.*

a(+b) = the realm of the maṇḍala;
b = post-Realization to marriage, deity yoga and divine kingship;
(b+)c = (divine kingship in) the realm of existence and mortal kingship.

While incorporating the subject of Jago, I would also refer to a possible chronological coincidence between Jago and the *Sutasoma*. Although the shrine had been commissioned in the century prior to the writing of the kakawin, there has always been some conjecture that the shrine underwent some refurbishment during the 14th century. It is known that Ādityawarman, a prince of Melayu and descendent of Wiṣṇuwardhana, reputedly spent time in the Javanese court around 1343 CE and while there made a *prāsāda* to his forebears. While there is some variance in opinion as to the precise nature of the *prāsāda,* Stutterheim (1936:247-97) proposed that it may well have included the restoration of Jago. It also seems that in 1351, Gajah Mada promulgated an inscription (known as the Singhosari inscription) which speaks of a shrine (unidentified) dedicated to the honor of Kṛtanagara's chief minister and chaplains who died with their ruler in 1292 at the hands of the usurper, Jayakatwang (Nihom 1986:490). Then there is the Jaka Dolog image whose re-erection in 1351 prompted an inscription carrying praise of Kṛtanagara and his consecration as Śrī Jñānaśiwabajra, "accomplished in the Knowledge (Mind) of Perfect Enlightenment" (O'Brien 2008:240). So it seems that around the mid-14th century there may have been a number of events which had cause to look back to the life of Kṛtanagara in a worshipful, celebratory way.[22] Since Rājasanagara's reign is known to have begun in the year 1350, it may not be so surprising that as a great-grandson, Rājasanagara was, in some way, seeking to publicly emulate his forebear in the same or similar stream of tantric Buddhism — asserting not only familial lineage but also spiritual

[22] This is also borne out in the kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama, composed by the Javanese poet Mpu Prapañca. The completion date of this work is given as 1365 though some of the material relates to events as far back as 1359 (Robson 1995:1). Importantly, it contains a quasi-chronology of kings. It is notable here for the number of verses it devotes to Kṛtanagara — more than any other monarch mentioned. It tells of his consecration "as a Jina, Jñānabajreśwara", his adherence to tantric Buddhist rites, and to his apotheosis and that of his consort in an *ardhanāreśwarī* image, Wairocana and Locanā (Cantos 41-44, Robson 1995:54-57).

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lineage, an important concept in tantric Buddhism. Certainly in the epithet given to him in Tantular's *Arjunawijaya — sang Pamĕkas-ing-Tuṣṭa*[23] ("He who is Supreme-in-Bliss") — we are reminded that in the *Sutasoma*, the prince also sought the *dharma paramasukha* ("*dharma* of Supreme Bliss") which he found in the deity yoga of his marriage: the union of Mahāwairocana and Locanā.

The astronomic connection

Other phenomena which provide visual similarity in overlapping discs and may bear further investigation are celestial eclipses: lunar and solar. With current technology we are now able to define precisely the years including months, dates and times of eclipses back several millennia pre the Common Era[24] so that it is possible to know that in the year 1268 (the death of King Wiṣṇuwardhana, Kṛtanagara's father), on 6th November there occurred a partial eclipse of the sun, visible from East Java. Further investigation reveals that on the 30th November, 1350 (the year that Kṛtanagara's great-grandson, Rājasanagara, ascended the throne) there was also a partial solar eclipse visible from East Java. Certainly partial solar eclipses are not a rare phenomenon. In the 13th century there were 38 partial eclipses visible from East Java, while in 14th century there were 39.[25] Similarly, in each of the years 1268 and 1350, there were two partial lunar eclipses.

We may note that the statue of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara which was housed in Jago's *cella* bears no symbols of the sun or moon (Brandes 1904: Pl.19). However, a number of images of Jago's statuary are also known to have been made at various times after Wiṣṇuwardhana's death and dispersed by Kṛtanagara throughout his kingdom, presumably to confirm his hegemony and inherited divine power. These images include, among others, a stone image from Rambahan, Central Sumatra, and a number of bronze plaques. These images which display the entire group of Jago's statuary arranged around the central figure of Amoghapāśa do display a sun and crescent moon on either side of his nimbus, near the top.[26] Krom (1923:131) noted the presence of these celestial bodies but thought their purpose was to illustrate an Old Javanese formula on images that "'as long as the sun and moon illuminates the earth' may Amoghapāśa be merciful, protect the world, or something similar or to characterize him as Lord over these heavenly bodies" (translated from the Dutch).[27]

---

[23] S. Supomo 1977:93, Canto 1:2d.

[24] The reader is referred to the website of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for eclipses (see Literature cited).

[25] There were no total solar eclipses visible from East Java during either century.

[26] See for example Bernet Kempers 1959: Fig. 258 (bronze); Fig. 260, the stone image from Rambahan.

[27] In a personal communication, Mark Long (co-author of *Borobudur: Pyramid of the Cosmic Buddha,* Delhi, 2008) has drawn attention to a bas-relief image of the Buddha on the fourth gallery of Borobudur. Here, images of the sun and crescent moon are arrayed in a similar manner around the *meru*-roof structure of a niche in which the Buddha sits in *dharmacakra-mudrā.* He notes that the arrangement "may have been intended to illustrate an eclipse in progress to mirror the internal 'eclipse' of the 'solar' and 'lunar' forces taking place within the body of the Buddha". Another tableau on the same gallery also includes the sun and moon at either end of nine Buddha-figures arranged in two rows: the four at the back all display the *dharmacakra-mudrā;* of the five in front, four carry the *mudrās* of the *jina-buddhas* while the fifth shows the *vitarka-mudrā.*

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There is no doubt that evidence for suggesting the involvement of solar or lunar eclipses is tenuous — one would surely expect to find appropriate mention in literary texts such as the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and/or inscriptions.[28] However, the *Sutasoma* presents an interesting example with its references to the sun and moon. Beginning with Sutasoma and Candrawatī: Sutasoma is Mahāwairocana whose name can be translated as "great sun" or "great universal light", while Candrawatī ("lit by the moon"[29]) is Locanā whose name means "illuminating, brightening".[30] Their coming together, which is the union of Wisdom and Means and the dissolution of all polarities, occupies the central segment of the work.

In the course of the poem, there are numerous mundane references to the sun and moon. But there are also those of a more supramundane nature and these refer in the main to the yoga of Non-duality (*adwaya-yoga*) wherein the yogin experiences perceived physical changes in his appearance:

> A monk concentrates on the sacred and secret non-dual yoga as his Means (*dwāra*) [...] Suddenly, the sun and moon appear and these clothe the body with a pure unblemished appearance.[31]
>
> (Canto 41:1*c*, 2*a*; O'Brien 2008:56)

There is a brief explanation of *adwaya-yoga* in the 'sermon' that Prince Sutasoma gives to his followers in the early part of the poem. However, the Old Javanese Buddhist text, the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan (SHK) explains the attainment of Non-duality a little more fully. With *adwaya-yoga,* the entry of "vital wind" during meditation causes the body to become like the sun, "totally pervaded by it" (O'Brien 2008:209). With exhalation of the "vital wind", the body becomes moon like: pure, clear, and tranquil. When this yoga is combined with *adwaya-jñāna* (Knowledge that is personified in the goddess, Prajñāpāramitā), the state of *adwaya* is achieved: the Body of clear, pure Light.[32]

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[28] An inscription on the back side of the Rambahan image, tentatively dated as 1347, contains as an addition to its chronogram, information that may refer to a lunar eclipse. However, the language is a 'corrupt' form of Sanskrit, which makes it difficult to be certain. Technical sources suggest that there were three lunar eclipses visible from Sumatra during 1347 (see note 24).

[29] "She was extraordinarily beautiful — like a goddess [...] the glow of her face rivaled that of the moon There were no longer nights of the dark moon anywhere in the kingdom — as long she had lived, the nights were always like those of the full moon" (Canto 58:3*a,b*; O'Brien 2008:73).

[30] Although the name 'Sutasoma' can be broken down into a number of meanings, e.g. "extracting of *soma* juice", perhaps Tantular more had in mind "brought forth (son)" and "moon" (*soma*). As Sutasoma's father, King Mahāketu, was performing yoga in the shrine of the *jina*-image in order to beget the required son, "suddenly, as the stillness of the night descended, came clarity in the Knowledge (*jñāna*) that is comparable to the moon" whereupon the Buddha himself appeared to Mahāketu and announced that He himself would become the king's son (Canto 1:9; O'Brien 2008: 18). Notable also is the correlation between Knowledge/gnosis and the moon.

[31] In tantric speculation this is the Body of Clear Light; the 'light' is the Clear Light of Bliss.

[32] In the speculation of both the *Sutasoma* and the SHK, this ultimate state of Enlightenment or Buddhahood is perceived as the "son", *adwaya-yoga* being the "father" and *adwaya-jñāna* (Prajñāpāramitā) being the "mother" (O'Brien 208:56). In the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-tantra,* it is Locanā who becomes the chief consort and may therefore be equated with Prajñāpāramitā (O'Brien 2008:191, 204).

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The opening stanza of the *Sutasoma* speaks of the king in a similar vein:

> Śrī Bajrajñāna whose form is Perfect Void, flawless is He, supreme in the world Serene, pure, enthroned in the victorious heart which is comparable to the greatest heaven In the person of the king, He gives life to all in the vastness of earth, air and the firmament Like the sun and moon, perfect and marvelous when He emerges from the Mind of Enlightenment.
>
> (Canto 1:1*a-d*; O'Brien 2008:17)

While at this stage, the available evidence is admittedly too 'thin' to be making definitive assertions, it is perhaps enough to warrant further investigation and to keeping a close eye on research in contemporary cultures. The notion that a potentially powerful celestial event could be harnessed into the affairs of kings would surely have been an attractive one. However, whether it is a real event that is being commemorated or a notional one mythologized and ritualized (as through *adwaya-yoga*), is another matter. By projecting a solar eclipse into the ground plan of a temple it is forever grounded in time and space and permanently welded to the intent of the monument. More importantly, it allows all the yoga-tantric speculation — which seems to have gained considerable currency throughout Asia and Southeast Asia at that time — to flow through it like a passage into the secular world, forever binding the mundane with the divine. While Jago is certainly funerary in nature, it is nevertheless a conduit for the divine essence with which his father is now inextricably bound and which Kṛtanagara could claim to great advantage in the local and international concerns of his kingship. If in the *Sutasoma*, Mpu Tantular was once again exercising his ability to construct a "temple of language" as praise to Rājasanagara,[33] can there be any doubt it was offering a similar conduit back to Kṛtanagara?

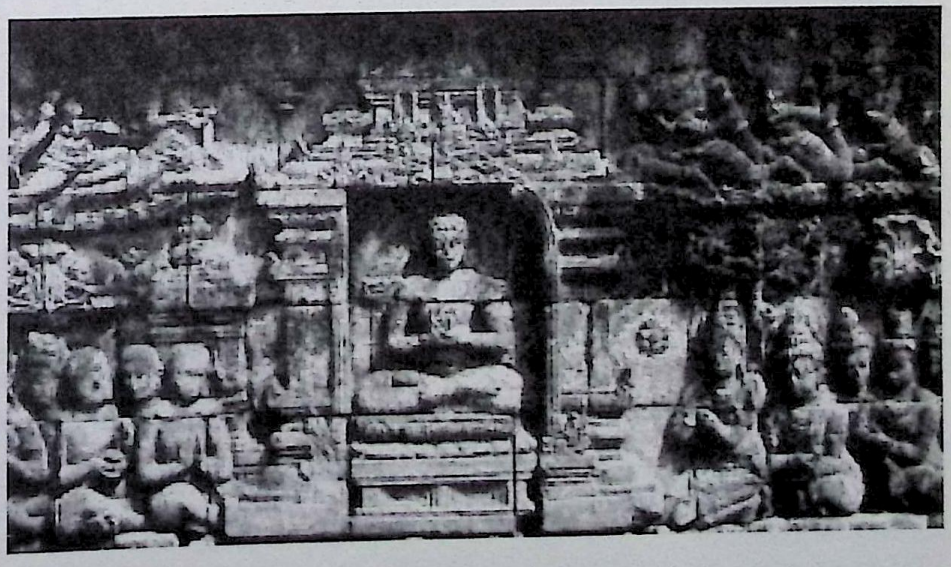

Fig. 4: The Buddha in dharmacakra-mudrā, flanked in the upper register by the sun and moon, and heavenly nymphs. Relief from the fourth gallery, main wall, illustrating the Samantabhadra text. Adopted from Krom (1920, II, Series IV, plate XXXV, no.70); courtesy Mark Long who thinks the sun and moon in this relief are symbolic of the Buddha's meditative state.

[33][...] this is what I implore, as I build my temple of language on my writing leaf; it is the welfare of the kings of Java and its princes and princesses that I have in mind, long may they live, *saṅ Pamĕkas-iṅ-Tuṣṭa* first of all, may they be secure in their palaces.... *Arj.* 1:2*b-d* (Supomo 1977:181).

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Conclusion

In conclusion, what I have endeavoured to demonstrate in this paper is that as scintillating as the embedded maṇḍala might be, it is only part of a very carefully planned design that is the *whole* kakawin. Whereas the first half of the narrative relates to psychic experiences in the spiritual world of a maṇḍala, the back half of the poem concerns the physical world, the realm of existence. The middle section is common to both: the union of divinities in their human incarnations, the emergence of divine rulership in the material world, all brought about by the yoga of Non-duality. In totality, as a design concept, it takes me straight back to Candi Jago — somewhat justified by both Rajasanagara and Krtanagara espousing similar, if not the same, tantric practices.

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More on the archaeological mapping of the fourteenth-century royal city of Majapahit based on a Balinese description in the *Kidung Pamañcangah*

Amrit Gomperts[1]

Introduction

The *Kidung Pamañcangah* offers the official historiography of the Balinese Gelgel dynasty (16th-18th centuries AD). The Middle Javanese text was probably commissioned by Dewa Agung Putra I, who was the son of the Balinese ruler of Klungkung, Dewa Agung Sakti; possibly, in 1809 or the 1810s (Vickers 2005:280; Creese 1995:13). In the *kidung* text, there is a brief description of the layout of the court-city of Majapahit. In this article, I shall argue that the Kidung Pamañcangah bridges a gap between our interpretations of fourteenth-century descriptions of Majapahit and the archaeological landscape of Trowulan today.

We possess a few contemporary Old Javanese texts which either describe or refer to the court architecture of Majapahit in the fourteenth century AD. Prapañca's *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 8-12 (AD 1365) provides us with a detailed description of the royal city. However, the archaeologist A.J. Bernet Kempers (1978:20-21) draws attention to the discrepancy between Prapañca's account and the present-day panorama of Trowulan. In two recent articles, we have shown that the Dutch archaeologist W.F. Stutterheim (1948) succeeded in translating Prapañca's description of the Majapahit court-city in consistency with various remains at Trowulan (Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2008a; 2008b). However, a few philological and archaeological issues have not yet been resolved. For example, the textual identification of the large tank called Sĕgaran, which is one of the most prominent surviving archaeological landmarks of Trowulan (Gomperts et al. 2008a:75, cf. Figs. 4-5; 2008b:422). Furthermore, S. Supomo (1977, 1:49-55) aptly points out that in the poem *Arjunawijaya* 3.1-7 (*c.* AD 1379), Tantular's description of Lĕngkā actually refers to the Majapahit capital. Incidental references to the court architecture of Majapahit also appear in Tantular's poem *Sutasoma* (*c.* AD 1384) and the *Nawanatya*, which is a fourteenth-century text on state festivities, palace etiquettes and protocols.

Pertinently, the Balinese author of the Kidung Pamañcangah was very conversant with the Old Javanese classics. C.C. Berg (1927a:17, 79, 91-92, 174-175) shows that the Middle Javanese text relies on the *Nāgarakṛtagama*, *Arjunawijaya* and the *Nawanatya*. Moreover, the description of Majapahit in Kidung Pamañcangah 2.47 is inspired by Arjunawijaya 3.1-7. However, the Balinese

[1] For the writing of this article, I am indebted to the *bupati* of Sragen Mr Untung Wiyono, the hydrological engineer Ir Arnoud Haag, the agricultural soil specialist Ir Ad van den Eelaart, Dr Peter Carey, Professor Adrian Vickers and Ms Rosemary Robson-McKillop for their much appreciated research input and assistance.

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author does more than merely rephrase the Arjunawijaya. For instance, Tantular's description of Lĕngkā progresses geographically from north to south. Whereas, the Balinese author in his description of Majapahit in the Kidung Pamañcangah, reverses the spatial perspective, proceeding from south to north. Moreover, from the following, it will become apparent to the reader that the Klungkung Balinese knew of a few of the architectural details of the vanished court-city of Majapahit.

The rulers of Klungkung were particularly attached to their alleged descent of Majapahit (Vickers 2005:272-274). The Kidung Pamañcangah emphasizes all this in its architectural descriptions of the royal palace of Klungkung, probably built between 1685-1700 (Vickers 2005:273). For example, the historiography states that:

"at Smarapura [i.e. the Sanskritized name of the Klungkung royal palace],
the layout is set out as in the past.
'The entrance (*mijil*) faces north,
as in Wila Tikta [i.e. Tikta-wilwa, the Sanskritized name of Majapahit]."[2]

Stutterheim (1948) often points out the architectural similarities between the layout of the palace of Klungkung and that of the Majapahit *kraton*, for example, "However, I have to stress the fact that the Klungkung *purī* once had a different orientation than the one seen today. Its former orientation corresponded to that of the Majapahit palace, which does not surprise us because we know that it went back — via Gelgel and Samplangan — to Majapahit".[3]

Kidung Pamañcangah 1.150 indeed relates such architectural similarities at the time of the construction of the now vanished sixteenth-century royal palace of Gelgel:

"All the nobles arrived,
[and] paid homage to the king.
They all duly saluted reverentially,
[and] quickly put the palace walls (*kuṭa*) to rights
imitating [the court of] Majapahit.
It was as though it had never disappeared,
[Such was] the reconstruction of the private royal quarters (*purī*)."[4]

The Balinese author obviously was writing at a moment in history when he was aware that Majapahit had already vanished but he also seems to have been acquainted with its architectural details.

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[2] Kidung Pamañcangah 7.32-33: ... *ring Smarapura, tiningkah yayêng uni. mijil anagalor kadi ring Wila-tikta,* (Berg 1929:82).

[3] "Ik moet hier echter wijzen op het feit, dat de poeri van Kloengkoeng een andere oriëntatie heeft gehad dan die der thans nog bestaande. Hare oriëntatie kwam overeen met die van Majapahit, wat ons niet kan verwonderen, daar wij weten dat zij via Gelgel en Samplangan, op Majapahit terugging" (Stutterheim 1948:24).

[4] *Kidung Pamañcangah* 1.150: *sama prāpta punang parârya marĕka, sumewā jĕng nṛpati, rĕp samâtur sĕmbah, śighrâma-arja kuṭa, tumirw anêng Majapahit, wyakti tan ilang, sapakĕkĕs ing purī* (Berg 1929:19).

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Such the details also were known to the Trowulan villagers who continued to live in the ruins of the vanished court-city after the Majapahit capital fell into decline in the 1500s.

The army surveyor Captain Johannes Willem Bartholomeus Wardenaar (1785-1869) made a plan of the site of the ancient capital of Majapahit at Trowulan in AD 1815.[5] Wardenaar's work testifies to the existence of a tenacious and accurate oral tradition (Verbeek 1890). The Trowulan villagers were able to relate a few historical details associated with particular places and brick ruins in an area which was densely covered with teak trees and undergrowth in 1815 (Gomperts, Haag and Carey, forthcoming). Furthermore, the Balinese rulers took an active interest in the Majapahit ruins at Trowulan. During the Surapati insurgency (1686-1703) and its aftermath up to the time of the 1718 Surabaya War, vast Balinese armies were present in East Java (De Graaf 1949:233-237, 245). The first ruler of the Balinese kingdom of Mengwi, Gusti Agung Anom, made a pilgrimage to Majapahit in 1714 (Creese 1997:11). He even "attempted to bring the site of this former kingdom under his power in order to restore Majapahit" (Vickers 2005:286). His son, Gusti Agung Made Alengkajĕng, also made a journey through East Java in 1729-1730, accompanied by the Dewa Agung of Klungkung himself (Creese 1995:11). This time accompanied by the ruler of Blambangan, they came not further than Mount Sumeru in East Java where they met Tĕnggĕr priests for the purpose of 'restoring' Majapahit (Vickers 2005:286).

All this boils down to the following archaeological question: What did the Balinese actually know about the location and layout of the vanished fourteenth-century court-city of Majapahit at Trowulan?

The description of the Majapahit court-city at Trowulan

In this section, I shall discuss the layout of the Majapahit royal city according to the Klungkung historiography and project my identifications on a Dutch topographic map issued by the former Colonial Survey in 1941 (see Fig.1).[6] We shall commence with a line on the royal city of Lĕngkā in the Arjunawijaya.

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[5] An English copy of Wardenaar's *Plan of Majapahit*, probably dating from late 1815 or early 1816, can be viewed online at the website of the British Museum at: http://www.britishmuseumshoponline.org/invt/cda00261622 (Registration Number: 1939, 0311,0.5.36).

[6] The former Colonial Survey, *Topografische Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië* (TDNI), issued the third edition of sheet 53/XLI-D, Modjoagoeng, map scale 1:50,000, in 1941. It can be viewed online at the web site of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam (see http://maps.kit.nl/apps/search, 'Trowulan', map number 05120-348-C). For archaeological purposes, it is the most detailed and geometrically faithful topographical map of the Trowulan area available. For the geo-referencing of this map, the eastings (x) and northings (y) of the TDNI grid convert into geographic co-ordinates: latitude=-9°+y/108000; longitude=+104°48'27.79"+x/108000 (Gomperts 2006). I have had to correct my published parameters of the Trowulan datum in line with C. Mugnier's recent article on geodetic datums of Java (Gomperts et al. 2008a:73; cf. Mugnier 2009:1160). For the transformation from the Bessel 1841 ellipsoid to WGS84, I determined the following parameters of Trowulan 1914 from GPS measurements of existing pillars of five

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In Arjunawijaya 3.1c Tantular refers to a stream:

> "The deep stream (*lwah*) flows around the boundaries (*kaṇṭha*) of the royal city (*pura*), like a sea (*tasik*), rolling in waves (*angalun-alun* > *alun-alun*)".[7]

The *Kidung Pamañcangah* 2.47 retains 'rolling in waves' but modifies 'like a sea' into 'the Little Sea':

> "A great stream (*toya*) enters into the royal palace (*pura*).
> Its water (*we*) is pure and flowing,
> like the very clear waters (*udaka*) of the Ganggā.
> [It] flows around the charming pleasure garden (*taman*)
> [and] along the sides of the enclosure of the private royal quarters (*purī*),
> [where] it makes a reverential salutation (*upacāra santun*).
> Then, to the north, [it flows alongside] the audience yard (*pangastryan*),
> [to] the magnificent and lofty Red Pavilion (*Bale Bang*).
> Rolling in waves (*malun-alun* > *alun alun*),
> [it] overwhelms the Little Sea (*Sasāgaran*)."[8]

The descriptions in Arjunawijaya 3.1-9 and Kidung Pamañcangah 2.47 both refer to rivers or streams. Although streams 1-3 metres wide do exist in Trowulan, the recent identification of layers of deposits of mud flows, 1-3 metres thick, and extensive removal of topsoils have modified the entire landscape on site, affecting the original heights and, therefore, the possible courses of medieval streams. On present evidence, we hesitate to identify fourteenth-century streams (personal communications from A. Haag and A. van den Eelaart, 2009). This is always very difficult in an area with pronounced volcanic activity. More research will be necessary before we shall be able to determine the possible courses of streams and conduits in the city of Majapahit.

The Kidung Pamañcangah makes a distinction between the Sanskrit-derived words *pura* and *purī*. Stutterheim argues that in the Old Javanese text Nāgarakṛtāgama, *purī* is associated with a space referring to women. *Pura* denotes the royal palace at large. *Purī* is the restricted inner-walled area within the *pura* to which with the exception of the king, his immediate relatives and a few high male functionaries, men had no access (Stutterheim 1948:83-84). In Kidung Pamañcangah 2.17 and 2.39, two passages confirm Stutterheim's interpretation, for example,

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TDNI tertiary triangulation points, now also involving geoidal heights according to EGM96: Δa=+739.845 m, Δf×10000=+0.10037483, ΔX=-384.6 m, ΔY=+669.8 m, ΔZ=-55.4 m. For Trowulan, the accuracy of this local transformation amounts to 1.8 m.

[7] Arjunawijaya 3.1c: *lwahnyâdalĕm angiděri kaṇṭha ning pura, bangun tasik angalun-alun* (Supomo 1977, 1:50, 52, 97, cf. 2:187, 288).

[8] *Kidung Pamañcangah* 2.47: *toyâgung mañjing ing pura, nirmala wenya umili, lwir Ganggôdakârddha maho, len taman ramyângiděri, ri tĕpi nikang purī, inupacāran eng santun, ndan lor ikang pangastryan, bale bang agung anginggil, malun-alun, kinasut ing sasāgaran* (Berg 1929:26).

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"The king (*bhūpati*, i.e. King Hayam Wuruk)
straightaway entered the royal palace (*kadaton*).
When he arrived in the private royal quarters (*purī*),
he was greeted by his wives [i.e. concubines and royal wives]."[9]

Kadaton, a synonym of *pura*, can be identified with the area corresponding to the sprawl of the hamlet of Kĕḍaton on Wardenaar's plan, where oral tradition situates the now vanished royal palace in Trowulan. For the footprint of the *pura* itself, I shall make a slight modification in the position of the western walls of the palace in Stutterheim's reconstruction (cf. Gomperts 2008b: 415, Fig. 2). During my visit to Trowulan on 11 December 2008, the farmer who owns the land pinpointed a former corner where in agreement with two archaeological maps, the western and northern walls of the palace once would have met. He had cleared its brick foundations a few years ago. Moreover, in Arjunawijaya 3.7, the *taman* 'pleasure garden' is described as being inside the royal palace (Supomo 1977, 1:55-56, 98, 2:188). The Balinese author follows Tantular, situating the *taman* in the *pura*, near the *purī*.

The words 'then, to the north' shift the focus of the description in the Kidung Pamañcangah from the *pura* to the area adjacent to the north of the royal palace, proceeding in a northerly direction through the Trowulan landscape.

The Old Javanese designation *pangastryan* literally means 'the place where the king is blessed'. In Nāgarakṛtāgama 84.7, the *wanguntur* or 'audience yard' is the place where the king is blessed (*astri*) (Stutterheim 1948:31). In the Kidung Pamañcangah, therefore, *pangastryan*, *wanguntur* and *manguntur* synonymously refer to the space of the audience yard in front of the royal palace which, according to Kidung Pamañcangah 2.10, is demarcated by a wrought-iron fence (*carangcang kawat*). Kidung Pamañcangah 2.49-2.56 also provides a long account of formal festivities which took place in the *pangastryan*. The king is seated on a *paryangka* 'throne' at the *palimanan*. Zoetmulder notes that *palimanan* is 'the place where the king is seated in audience (prob[ably] not the seat itself; a pavilion-like construction or dais. The connection with *liman* [elephant] is not clear)' (1982, 1:1029).

Palimanan denotes the 'places of the *liman* (elephants)'. Arjunawijaya 3.3-4 confirms that the *pagajahan* 'places of the elephants' existed in the *wanguntur* audience yard but Prapañca does not mention it (Supomo 1977, 1:55, 97). Moreover, in the book of the second Dutch fleet to the East Indies in 1598-1600, there is a drawing which shows the king of Tuban seated on a small platform in front of his palace, surrounded by his nobles and tethered elephants during a royal audience with Dutch merchants on 24 January 1599 (Keuning 1942:177, fig. 20). The Dutch account describes how the feet of the royal elephants were fastened with chains to the base of a pillar which refers back to the Indian lore of keeping elephants as described, for example, in *Arthaśastra* 2.31.3 (*c.* fourth century AD). Pertinently, two pillars existed on the northern side of the northern Majapahit palace

[9] *Kidung Pamañcangah* 2.17: *... kuněng sira śrī bhūpati, lumaris ing jro kadaton, saprāptanira ring purī, sinungsung dening rabi, ...* (Berg 1929:22-23).

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walls where, according to oral tradition, the royal elephants were attached. The two pillars stood *c.* 63 metres from each other and 1-3 metres to the north of the now vanished northern palace-walls (Wibowo 1973:29). Therefore, I would situate the former *wanguntur* adjacent to the north of these two pillars, virtually identical to its position in Stutterheim's reconstructive mapping. From the account of the West Javanese pilgrim Bujangga Manik, we know that the *manguntur* still existed in the first decade of the sixteenth century AD when he visited the then moribund city (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:146, 258). However, little can be inferred from the area of the audience yard on site because the plots are irregularly littered with 2-4 metre deep pits in which large quantities of soils with brick remains have been removed for the purpose of growing sugar-cane.

To the north of the *pangastryan*, the Klungkung historiography proceeds with the location of the Bale Bang or literally the Red Pavilion. It appears neither in the Nāgarakṛtāgama nor in the Arjunawijaya. However, in an apocalyptic tale in *Sutasoma* 103.10-13, Tantular describes how Queen Marmawatī frantically wanders through the area adjacent to the north of the northern Majapahit palace walls in a desperate search of her deceased husband. The poet provides us with directions from which I surmise that the Bale Bang was situated somewhere close to the north or north-east of the Majapahit *wanguntur* and, therefore, also the *palimanan* (cf. Santoso 1975:445, 447). From the following fragment in the Nawanatya, it becomes apparent that the levels for accessing the Bale Bang and the *pangastryan* correspond to those for the Majapahit *pura* and *purī* respectively:

> "What is the *purā*? It is the interior of the Bale Bang.
> What is the essence of *puri*? It is the interior of the *pangastryan*."[10]

Elsewhere, Kidung Pamañcangah 1.166 describes how the Majapahit ministers (*kryan patih*), *mantrī* officials and their kinsmen are seated in the Bale Bang on formal occasions. Hence, the Red Pavilion may have been an assembly place for high Majapahit functionaries outside the *pangastryan* audience-yard.

The author of the Kidung Pamañcangah continues with the Old Javanese word *malunalun* 'rolling in waves' which alludes to the *alun-alun* square, like Tantular's *angalun-alun*. Wardenaar pinpoints the centre of the former *alun-alun* (Dutch "Passeerbaan") 240 metres to the south of the western side of the Sĕgaran Tank. It is difficult to imagine the *alun-alun* square in the present Trowulan landscape because the soils have been removed up to 2-3 metres deep. On the western side of the *alun-alun*, brick remains have been excavated pointing to the former existence of structures there.

The Balinese author modifies Tantular's words *bangun tasik* 'like a sea' into *sasāgaran*. In Old Javanese morphology *sasāgaran* or 'pond' is derived from the Sanskrit word *sāgara* 'ocean or sea'. For Sasāgaran, the Kidung Pamañcangah also employs the synonymous name Pasir-pasir

[10] *Nawanatya* 9a: *... ndi purā, sajroning bale bang, ndi pöhning puri, sajroning pangastryan...* (Pigeaud 1960, 1:82).

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which is derived from the Old Javanese word *pasir* 'sea'. Berg (1927b:131, n.) rightly suggests that the Sĕgaran and *pasir-pasir* could be identical. Wardenaar correctly informs us that according to local tradition, Sĕgaran literally means the Little Sea (Verbeek 1890:4). Therefore, I would interpret both Sasāgaran and Pasir-pasir as proper names referring to the large brick-walled Sĕgaran Tank, measuring 375 metres in length on its north-south axis and 175 metres in width (Mundardjito et al. 1986:49). Furthermore, I verified my results with the references to Majapahit court architecture in the later Majapahit historiographies, *Rangga Lawe* and *Kidung Sunda* (Berg 1927b and 1930). It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss these, but my results appear to be consistent with the spatial interpretations referring to the *palimanan* in the *pangastryan/wanguntur/manguntur*, Bale Bang, *alun-alun*, Sasāgaran/Pasir-pasir(an) in the other two *kidung* texts.

Finally, the Klungkung historiography describes another *palimanan*. In the Kidung Pamañcangah, King Hayam Wuruk (reign AD 1350-1389) gathers in royal council with his five principal ministers (see also Berg 1927a:90):

> "He granted audience seated in the *palimanan*
> Over-looking the Little Sea (*Pasir-Pasir*),
> [which is] situated to the north of the *pangastryan.*"[11]

In the current landscape of Trowulan, it would have been impossible to see the Sĕgaran Tank from the position of the two pillars to which the elephants were tethered at the first *palimanan* because an elevated sand ridge obstructs the line of sight between the audience yard (*pangastryan*) and the tank. The *kidung* text also mentions that the other *palimanan* is situated to the north of the *pangyastryan*. Furthermore, Wardenaar pinpoints a slightly elevated spot where the 'king's small pleasure/garden house' (Dutch "des Vorsten speelhuisje") once stood, flanked by two stone pillars to which the feet of the elephants were attached (Verbeek 1890:4-5). The spot Wardenaar pinpointed as the king's small pleasure/garden house coincides with a one-metre high platform in an area, 75-77 metres long on a north-south axis and 22-33 metres wide. The corners of the area were actually demarcated by four pillars to which, according to local tradition in 1815 and today, the royal elephants were tethered. The area adjoins the centre of the western side of the Sĕgaran Tank (see Figure and Appendix). Therefore, the second *palimanan* played a role in spatial relation to the Sasāgaran. Majapahit kings would have displayed their kingship symbolized by the four elephants while watching festivities performed on the great expanse of the Little Sea.

Conclusion

The description of the Majapahit royal city in the Kidung Pamañcangah is inspired by the Arjunawijaya, but the Balinese author adds the Red Pavilion to his description. Moreover, in the Kidung Pamañcangah, either Sasāgaran or the Old Javanese designation *sasagaran* 'pond' agrees much more clearly with the name of the Sĕgaran Tank in 1815 than Tantular's words *bangun tasik*

[11] *Kidung Pamañcangah 1.159: pinarĕk sira alunggw' êng palimanan, angunggang pasir-pasir, lor ikang pangastryan, ...* (Berg 1929:20).

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'like a sea'. There are no references to the second *palimanan* in any other *kidung* or Old Javanese text. Therefore, I conclude that the description in Kidung Pamacañcangah is based probably on information which the Balinese gathered at Trowulan in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century AD, presumably by fieldwalking the site of the Majapahit ruins with the text of the Arjunawijaya in their hands, investigating brick remains and questioning the villagers.

The Klungkung historiography reconfirms the traditional locations of the royal palace and the *alun-alun* square in the now vanished medieval court-city. Textual comparison between the Kidung Pamañcangah 2.47 and the Arjunawijaya 3.1c might possibly reveal the existence of the Sĕgaran Tank in the Majapahit court-capital as early as the fourteenth century AD.

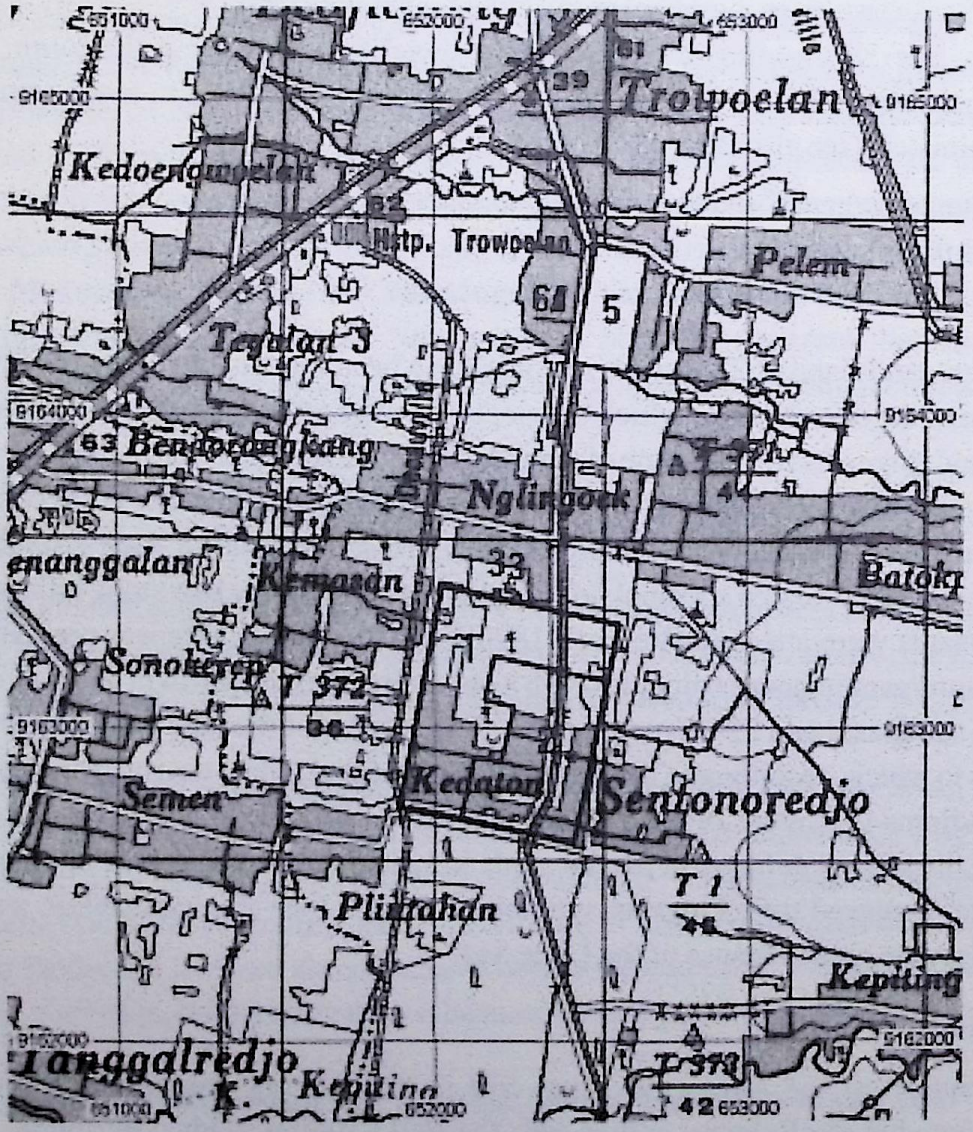

Fig.1: Identifications of remains or places in the Majapahit court-city in Trowulan as described in the *Kidung Pamañcangah* drawn on the third edition of the topographic map issued by the former Colonial Survey, Topografische Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, sheet Modjoagoeng, number 53/XLID, original scale 1:50,000, in 1941. The added gridlines with numbers appear at intervals of 1000 metres and represent geographical co-ordinates WGS84, UTM, zone 49 M, with a geo-referencing accuracy of 50 metres. For the legend of this map, see Appendix.

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Appendix: Legend of the mapping of the description of the Majapahit court-city

The third column lists the references to the *Kidung Pamañcangah*, including only the essential concordances with the Old Javanese texts. KP, AWj, Sut and Nāg and Naw are abbreviations of Old Javanese texts *Kidung Pamañcangah* (Berg 1929), *Arjunawijaya* (Supomo 1977), *Sutasoma* (Santoso 1975) and *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (Stutterheim 1948; cf. Gomperts et al. 2008b) and *Nawanatya* (Pigeaud 1960, 1:81-86) respectively.

No.	Identification	Textual references	Source
1.	the royal palace	*pura* (KP 2.6, 2.47, 2.85; AWj 3.1, 3.9; Naw 9a) = *kadaton* (KP 2.17)	after Stutterheim's reconstruction (Gomperts et al. 2008b:414-417, Figs. 1-4, #1), modified western walls according to the brick foundations marked on the map issued by Bakosurtanal (1983, #7), position of cleared foundations of the north-western corner pinpointed by the farmer who owns the land
2.	the private royal quarters	*purī* (KP 2.17, 2.39, 2.45, 2.47, 2.80, 2.81; Naw 9a, 9b)	modified after Stutterheim's reconstruction (Gomperts et al. 2008b:415, Fig. 2)
3.	two pillars to which the royal elephants were tethered on the southern side of the audience yard	*palimanan* (KP 2.50) = *pagajahan* (AWj 3.4), situated in the *pangastryan* (KP 1.160, 1.165, 2.47, 2.49, 2.56; AWj 4.4; Naw 1a, 4a, 4b, 9a) = *wanguntur* (Nāg. 84.7; KP 1.165; AWj 3.3; Sut 113.10) = *manguntur* (KP 2.9; Naw 2b)	western pillar *in situ*, position of the removed eastern pillar pinpointed by the guardsman of the new Pĕṇḍopo Agung complex (Verbeek 1890:11-12, #10, sic Wardenaar #O; see also Wibowo 1973:29).
4.	the *alun-alun* square	*alun-alun* (Nāg 9.2; Naw 1a; KP 2.47 *malun-alun*; AWj 3.1 *angalun-alun*)	the centre of the "passeerbaan", a Dutch word for *alun-alun*, on Wardenaar's plan (Gomperts et al. 2008a:73, Fig. 5, #P)
5.	the Little Sea, Sĕgaran Tank	Sasāgaran (KP 2.47) = Pasir-pasir (KP 1.160) = *tasik* (AWj 3.1)	Wardernaar's plan (Gomperts et al. 2008a:73, Fig. 5, #M)

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6.	audience pavilion in an area with a pillar at each of the four corners to which the royal elephants were tethered	[second] *palimanan* (KP 1.152) speelhuisje") on Wardenaar's plan	the king's small pleasure/garden house (Dutch " 's Vorsten (Gomperts et al. 2008a:73, Fig. 5, #O), three pillars *in situ*, position of the removed south-western pillar pinpointed by the residents (see further Gomperts et al. forthcoming)

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A note on the problem of Sanskrit loanwords in Malay

Stuart Robson

A recent publication by James T. Collins (2009) once more draws attention to what Sanskrit has contributed to the Malay language. This book by Collins is wide-ranging, though short, containing various fascinating ideas and pieces of information. A review of it has been published by the Sanskrit scholar Arlo Griffiths (2009).

Not much space in Collins' book is devoted to specific Sanskrit loanwords in Malay. A work which does precisely this, and which is not mentioned (perhaps it appeared too late to be included), is Russell Jones (ed.) *Loan-words in Indonesian and Malay* (2007). This is a consolidated list of all words in Indonesian/Malay that have been borrowed from sources outside the Indonesian Archipelago (non-Austronesian languages). Obviously, Sanskrit is a major source. As noted in the Introduction, work on the Sanskrit loanwords was done by J.G. de Casparis (1997) and G.E. Marrison, and J. Gonda's *Sanskrit in Indonesia* was also a "mine of information" (Jones 2007:xxii).

For the purposes of this discussion, Malay and Indonesian are treated as one language, even though functionally they are now separate languages. (On the development of Indonesian from Malay, see Robson 2002.) The aim here is to draw attention to some questions relating to the problem of Sanskrit loanwords in Malay — but not to offer answers based on extensive research!

The phenomenon of borrowing from one language into another is closely linked with cultural history. We are looking at something that took place over a period of time, within a particular setting. This means that we must attempt to be rather specific regarding what time or setting is being described.

In the case of borrowing from Sanskrit into Malay, the time-scale is very large, seeing that two distinct and widely separated phases of borrowing have been involved: an early one and a late one. A work which fails to make this distinction is Edi Sedyawati et al. *Kosakata Bahasa Sanskerta dalam Bahasa Melayu Masa Kini* (1994, not listed in Collins 2009). A number of the words now recognized as being loanwords from Sanskrit are very familiar, common Malay words; ten random examples of words in this category are: *bahasa* 'language', *biasa* 'usual', *biaya* 'cost', *cari* 'look for', *cuci* 'wash', *harga* 'price', *harta* 'property', *semua* 'all', *sudah* 'already' and *tetapi* 'but' (for etymologies, see Jones 2009). We may note that in some cases there has been a considerable semantic shift from the original Sanskrit meaning. This is probably because many centuries have elapsed since the borrowing originally took place. These examples could be termed 'early'.

On the other hand, another wave of borrowing took place during the phase of language development that occurred in the post-World War II period. Edi Sedyawati's list contains a very large

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number of words found in modern Indonesian that are apparently recent coinages and clearly have a Sanskritic appearance, and yet may not have been taken directly from Sanskrit. This can be asserted on the basis of the fact that such words often correspond to Old Javanese or classical Modern Javanese ones (Sedyawati 1994:4), suggesting that the person (or persons) who created these terms was familiar with both Sanskrit and Javanese. These borrowings can be termed 'late'. Of course there are some words which would be difficult to call either 'early' or 'late' without further research into datable sources, but, as suggested above, the determining factor here is cultural history. It is sufficiently well established that Malay cultural history is characterized by a phase of dominance of Indic (Mahāyāna Buddhist and Hindu) culture, a phase of the establishment of Islam, and a modern phase. Corresponding to these, there are phases in the linguistic history of Malay in connection with the adoption of vocabulary: that of Sanskrit and other Indian languages, that of Arabic and Persian, and finally European languages, respectively. But it goes without saying that these can *not* be intended as water-tight categories, seeing that there are cases of borrowing that occur outside such eras. It is the first phase that interests us here.

Possibly we have too abstract an idea of how borrowing from one language into another happens. Unfortunately we are rarely in a position to observe the process firsthand, although in the case of recent borrowings it might still be feasible to trace the person who first used a word from a foreign source, to find out how he or she intended it, and then to discover how it came to be adopted by the community and used in that sense. The crucial element is the person — the person who has a knowledge (whether perfect or not) of the donor language, and who speaks or writes the receptor language, and who on a particular occasion feels that his idea is better expressed by an item from the donor language, and at the same time is satisfied that it will be understood by speakers of the receptor language.

Such a process must have occurred when Sanskrit words entered Malay. It had already happened during the 7th century in southern Sumatra, as we know from the unambiguous evidence of the Old Malay inscriptions, containing their Sanskrit-derived vocabulary. We can safely call this setting Śrīvijaya. Students of history are already familiar with the oft-quoted evidence of Chinese monks who called in here on their way to India, who noted that "the Buddhist priests number more than 1000", and who studied Sanskrit as well as the "K'un-lun language", presumably Old Malay. So this is a point where the Sanskrit texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism were present and being read, and where the local language was also being used — a point where persons with knowledge of both might have initiated a process of linguistic borrowing.

In his monumental account of traditional Malay literature, Vladimir Braginsky looks at the likelihood of the existence of an old Malay literature. He feels that there are a number of indications that such a thing may well have existed, suggesting the use of palm-leaf manuscripts, and of course the survival of the Indic scripts of Sumatra must support this, but nevertheless he is forced to admit that "no literary works from that period [the Malay Middle Ages] are known" (Braginsky 2004:47). The works of classical Malay literature that we possess today are the product of a later period, and are

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to be placed in a tradition that dates from the coming of Islam and the introduction of the Perso-Arabic script together with the use of ink and paper.

However, the hypothesis being offered here is that, at least in a time up to A.D. 1025, even though scholars in Śrīvijaya may not have been writing literary works in Malay, they were indeed busily writing: and they were writing Sanskrit. There is evidence for this.

The first step in this investigation is a short work by the late J.A. Schoterman, *Indonesische Sporen in Tibet* [Indonesian Traces in Tibet] (1986) (not mentioned by Collins), drawing attention to the famous Buddhist scholar Atīśa's connection with Sumatra.

Atīśa's chronology is:
born in Vikramapura as Candragarbha 982;
named Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna 1001;
left India for Śrīvijaya 1012, arrived 1013;
studied in Śrīvijaya 1013-1025 (i.e. for 12 years);
became head of Vikramaśīla Vihāra 1025;
left India 1040;
stayed in Nepal 1041;
arrived Tibet 1042;
died at Netang aged 72 in 1054.

All this is well established. But there is more. Our source here is the large book by Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *Atīśa and Tibet, Life and Works of Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna in relation to the History and Religion of Tibet* (1967), which contains a bewildering collection of data, in particular Chapter 10, as well as Appendix B, section 4.

Atīśa went to Suvarṇadvīpa in order to study with one of the greatest scholars of the time, Dharmakīrti or Dharmapāla, known as *guru Suvarṇadvīpī*, who was said to have been born into the royal family of Suvarṇadvīpa (Chattopadhyaya 1967:92). Atīśa both wrote his own works and also translated his teacher's works into Tibetan. Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna (Atīśa) is listed as both author and translator often assisted by another scholar, Jayaśīla, of 79 titles, and is listed as author only of 38 titles. An example of his own work is the *Bodhisattva-caryāvatāra-bhāṣya* (about 586 lines); here it is mentioned that it was written according to the views of bla-ma gSer-glin-pa (guru Suvarṇadvīpī) (Chattopadhyaya 1967:470-471).

Of the works of Dharmakīrti himself, the *magnum opus* seems to be the *Abhisamaya-alaṃkāra-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra-vṛtti-durbodha-āloka-nāma-ṭīkā*, of about 2044 lines, and in the Peking edition of the bsTan-'gyur, the colophon reads as follows, "Written by Dharmakīrti on the request of king Śrī Cuḍāmaṇivarman, during the tenth year of the reign... in Vijayanagara of Suvarṇadvīpa". In Cordier's *Catalogue*, the author of the text is mentioned as *Ācārya* Dharmakīrti-śrī of Suvarṇadvīpa and it is added: "The work was composed during the reign of Deva-śrī-varmarāja, the Cuḍāmaṇi, *alias* Cuḍāmaṇimaṇḍapa, in Malayagiri in Vijayanagara of Suvarṇadvīpa" (Chattopadhyaya 1967:88). It is said to be "a stupendous work on Mahāyāna philosophy, devoted

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mainly to the clear exposition of the highest *pāramitā* conceived by the Mahāyānists, namely the *prajñāpāramitā*" (Chattopadhyaya 1967:94). Cūḍāmaṇivarman was a Sumatran king of the Śailendra dynasty, known from inscriptions (Krom 1931:237). The above mention of Malayagiri was noted by Satyawati Suleiman (of the Indonesian Archaeological Service and an expert on Sumatran art) and identified as 'Bukit Malayu' near Jambi (Suleiman 1985:102). But unfortunately a Bukit Melayu has not (yet) actually been found.

Schoterman also draws attention to an illustrated manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* dated 1025 from Nepal, which alongside the text contains miniatures of a large number of Buddhist deities and sanctuaries. Most of these illustrations refer to India, but a few refer to overseas sanctuaries, including:

1. On the island of Java is Dīpaṅgkara;
2. In Sumatra (Suvarṇadvīpa) at Śrīvijayapura is Lokanātha (= Avalokiteśvara);
3. In Kedah on the mountain Valavatī is Lokanātha.

But in another manuscript of the same work from 1071 only Java occurs whereas both Śrīvijaya and Kedah have disappeared from the list of important Buddhist sanctuaries (translated from Schoterman 1986:12, quoted in Robson 1998:235). The cause of the change is not far to seek, as in 1025 the Chola king sent an expedition which destroyed or weakened Śrīvijaya, and a list of other places, ending with Kadaram (Kedah), according to a Tamil inscription of King Rājendrachola at Tanjore dated 1030-31 (Coedès 1968:142-3). Probably Atīśa knew of the impending danger, and left for India in the same year.

There is ample food for thought here for archaeologists, historians and philologists. How delightful it would be if we had conveniently at hand, in the original and in English translation, some of the many titles listed as the work of these authors. At least it can be concluded, firstly, that the study of Sanskrit *prajñāpāramitā* texts flourished in Sumatra in a period up to 1025, and the monks of the monastery working industriously there must be prime suspects in the case of the borrowing of Sanskrit words into the Malay language as used there at that time, and thence passing them down to the present day. And secondly the conclusion suggests itself that the kind of Sanskrit we are looking at here is not classical Sanskrit at all, but Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, the language of the *prajñāpāramitā* literature.

GATE GATE PARAGATE...

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The Old Javanese *Bhomāntaka* and its floridity

A. Teeuw and W. van der Molen

Alles Vergängliche
Ist nur ein Gleichnis;
Das Unzulängliche,
Hier wird's Ereignis;
Das Unbeschreibliche,
Hier ist's getan;
Das Ewig-Weibliche
Zieht uns hinan.

Goethe, *Faust* II.

Introduction

The Old Javanese *kakawin Bhomāntaka* is a heroic epic that relates the victory of Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba over Bhoma, king of the demons. As such it belongs to the cycle of Kṛṣṇa tales (see Zoetmulder 1974:283). We have no information as to where or when or by whom it was created (see Teeuw and Robson 2005:52-57 for a discussion of the problem of dating, including possible connections with historical Assam in India).

While we remain in the dark about the historical context of the Bhomāntaka, there can be no doubt as to the author's mastery of Old Javanese poetics. All that one might expect from a piece of Old Javanese literature is found there, the varied use of different metres, stylistic embellishments of different sorts, and the topics, scenes, characters and moods prescribed for a major kakawin. Even parables, rarely found in other kakawins, occasionally adorn the text.

In this article we draw attention to one poetical feature of the Bhomāntaka: its abundant richness of similes, metaphors and comparisons. The text is filled with them, from the first line to the last. The whole gamut of possibilities is here, ranging from everyday similes to elaborate metaphors, using all sorts of lexical and grammatical means, from the most conventional expressions to quite uncommon ones. Basham's characterization of Sanskrit *kāwya* literature as 'poetry of great floridity' (Basham 1959:417) fully applies to the Old Javanese Bhomāntaka.

The height of complexity and diversity of similes, metaphors and comparisons is to be found in cantos 18.5-19, where the text presents a poetic portrait of Princess Yajñawatī, beloved of Prince Sāmba, in all her beauty. These cantos serve to introduce the princess into the story, and lead up to a longer passage about the reunion of the hero and heroine, representing a critical point in the story and proceeding directly to the battle that is the subject of the Bhomāntaka. In this article we discuss cantos 18 and 19.

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In the preceding cantos the princess is mentioned briefly, as a kind of upbeat. We shall have a look at these introductory references before turning to the fuller description of the princess in cantos 18 and 19.

Citations and translations of the text are taken from Teeuw and Robson 2005. Lexical explanations we owe to Zoetmulder 1982.

Lead-up to the introduction of Yajñawatī

Prince Sāmba has been ordered by his father King Kṛṣṇa to go to the Himalaya to destroy the subjects of King Bhoma, son of the Earth. These demons threaten the peace and work, and even the very existence, of the munis, ṛṣis, monks and other divines who practice their religious duties for their own well-being as well as that of mankind in their religious settlements all over the mountains.

In the course of his wanderings Sāmba visits the sanctuary of the holy Wiśwamitra. There he meets a young brahman Guṇadewa who informs him about a princess, the girl Yajñawatī, who turns out to have been Sāmba's wife in an earlier existence. Guṇadewa tells him what had happened in those earlier times. The heavenly nymph Tilottamā appears on the scene and she undertakes to bring the prince to Bhoma's palace where this reborn Princess Yajñawatī is kept prisoner. Tilottamā tells Sāmba that the princess instructed her to go and find him.

Still Sāmba has to convince Tilottamā of his sincerity before she consents to take him along — she remembers how he had abandoned her mistress in their previous life. Trying to mollify her Sāmba exclaims (canto 17.12):

Are you keeping that precious jewel to yourself?

'That precious jewel' of course refers to Yajñawatī. In kakawin literature in general *maṇik* 'jewel' is a very common expression for a beautiful woman. In fact it is so common that it would be difficult to find a more conventional word than *maṇik*.

However, before we reject Sāmba as a rhetorical failure, we should notice two points. The first is that Sāmba is playing with the meaning of *maṇik*. While referring to Yajñyawatī, at the same time he uses *maṇik* in its literal meaning as a precious stone, that is as something one can hold in one's hand and hide. In doing so he is applying the force of logic — that a precious stone should be visible lest it lose its function of being precious — and so gently presses Tilottamā to give in.

The second point is that *maṇik* is a signal for the audience that we are going to hear more about Yajñawatī sometime soon. Precisely because *maṇik* is such a cliché, it is easily recognizable as a signal. No other word would have been as clear a signal.

Portrayal of Yajñawatī

Princess Yajñawatī's appearance on the scene gives the narrator a chance to evoke her beauty. It is common practice in Old Javanese kakawins to express ideas of beauty using images borrowed from nature. The author of the Bhomāntaka follows this practice. In the case of Yajñawatī, however,

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the usual images are inadequate to describe her unearthly charms, so the poet is forced to turn to heaven instead.

Three stages can be discerned: the introduction, the evocation itself, and the conclusion.

Introduction

The introduction marks the transition from the previous to the next scene.
Lines 18.5c-6a:

18.5
[...]
We pass over their time on the road, and speak of the jewel of beauties, the princess;
In a bower adorned with true gems she languished and pined, overcome with love.

18.6
Concerned were those who knew her mind, filled with passion and newly burdened with emotion;
[...]

In line 18.5c (the first line quoted above) we leave Sāmba and Tilottamā ('their' refers to them) and switch to the princess. After what we explained above about *maṇik* as a signal, it will come as no surprise that the word used to introduce Yajñawatī is *maṇik* ('jewel'). Again, although the expression is conventional, the way it is used here is not. Yajñawatī, instead of simply being compared to a *maṇik*, is called the *maṇik* of beauties. While the reader is still wondering how many layers of meaning are involved, the narrator in line 18.5d comes up with yet another *maṇik*, adding teasingly that he is talking about 'true' jewels.

So *maṇik* follows up on the audience's expectation which is now beginning to be fulfilled. In a similar way the description of Yajñawatī's amorous mood follows up on the expectation raised by the information given earlier that she took the initiative to send Tillotamā for Sāmba.

These lines are not without metaphors either. *Aweśa* 'to enter' (translated in 18.5d as 'overcome'), *mesi* 'to fill' (from *isi*, 'contents') and 'burden' (*kabwatan*, from *bwat* 'weight, burden', all in 18.6a) are used figuratively, although the figurative use of the words came to belong to their normal range of meaning, thus without special poetical value.

Lover

After the change of subject from Sāmba to Yajñawatī has been sufficiently indicated, the way is clear for the evocation of Yajñawatī's beauty. First, one stanza is devoted to the effect her beauty will have on her lover, who as we remember is presently making his way to her. Line 18.6b reads:

As a subtle weapon to overcome anyone who shared her favour she
had a furrowed brow

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The word *wināwan* (translated here as 'overcome') suggests that the one 'who shared her favour' will be 'carried off' as if he were a captive of war. At the same time *wināwan* means 'carried away' in the sense of 'enraptured'.

At the end of the line, *tikĕlnikang halis* or 'furrowed line of the brows' in Old Javanese often represents annoyance, or aversion, and this is indeed how Sāmba will be received before long. Literally, *tikĕl* means 'broken (of something straight), with a sharp bend'.

More weapons are held in store. Line 18.6c reads:

> The reason her breasts were so tight was that she fondled them in
> readiness to use for stabbing her lover's heart

Breasts when subject to literary description are round (making coconuts feel ashamed) or full (causing slender waists to bend under their weight). In Bhomāntaka 18.6c, however, the princess's breasts threaten the lover as yet another weapon operated by her. She has squeezed and moulded them in such a way that they point forward.

Line 18.6d mentions one more weapon:

> And the points of her eyes were sharpened, whetted and applied with
> the poison of sweetness to make them more lethal

It used to be common practice in Java and elsewhere in the Archipelago to steep the points of one's arrows in poison to enhance their lethal effects. Here the comparison is to the arrows of the love-god, likewise found in European and Javanese (India-derived) mythology. Note that 'applied with the poison of sweetness' is a metaphor within a metaphor. 'Poison of sweetness' is an oxymoron. Do 'the points of her eyes' refer to the corners of the eyes, and do eyes with sharp corners represent an ideal of beauty in Old Javanese literature? Think of the sharp-pointed eyes of wayang puppets representing refined characters.

Nature

By now it is clear that Yajñawatī's beauty is irresistible. Her lover will be caught, stabbed and eliminated by it. But what is it actually like? At this stage the help of nature is called in. Stanza 18.7 reads:

> 18.7
> Indeed she was an incarnation of the flowers, as could be seen from
> her figure, like a yellow *campaka*.
> The fragrance of her black hair was like the gleaming *manguněng* with
> a light rain of jasmine.
> A little of her lovely powder, fallen and adhering to her chest, had the
> charm of fading pollen,
> And her teeth looked like the opened *śrīdanta* flowers, with spittle as
> honey and ever sweet.

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In 18.7a the princess is represented as an incarnation of flowers (*puṣpamūrti*); more specifically she is 'like a yellow *campaka*', an image expressed by a verbal derivation (nasalization) from the name of the flower: *campaka* > *anyampaka*.

Line 18.7b presents a somewhat complex evocation of the fragrance of her hair (see also Zoetmulder 1982 s.v. *manguněng*). Fragrant jasmine in a lady's hairdo is conventional, both in reality and in poetry, but here another metaphor is used, the word *riris* 'light rain': fragrant jasmine flowers are spread over the chignon in a light rain.

Line 18.7c too is complex: 'a little bit of powder, adhering to her chest was lovely like fading pollen', again a simile expressed by a prenasalized verbal form: *anghrěbuk* 'to be like pollen' (*hrěbuk*).

In 18.7d we again have a verbal form to express a simile, this time using the infix *-um-*: her white teeth were *śumrīdanta měkar*, 'like the open *śrīdanta* flowers'. The comparison of white teeth to this particular flower has become conventional, even outside Javanese literature (see De Clercq 1909 no. 1924 *Ixora macrophylla*). *Semridanta* is well-known from Malay wayang stories.

In the same line it is said that her spittle is honey. Another complex image: the spittle that adheres to her teeth is compared to the honey in the *śrīdanta* flower such that her teeth are forever sweet!

If so far nature has been the standard for comparison, in stanza 18.8 this is replaced by the idea that nature and Yajñawatī are of equal standing:

18.8
The loveliness of the flowers and the enchantment of the young
branches of the *aśoka* sent down in the charms of the Fourth Month
All embodied the beauty of the princess, sweetening the honey of the
fragrant flowers.
She was in visible form the goddess of the beauties of the shore and
all the flowers of the mountains, the first of the beautiful —
The patroness of the *puḍak* took form in her calves, so again and again
the deity of drawings went to find her there.

Lines 18.8ab state that Yajñawatī's beauty is also to be seen in the beauty of the *aśoka*, implying equality between the two. Line 18.8c puts the princess on a higher level, calling her the goddess or the pinnacle of beauty ('the first of the beautiful'). There is a total identification of her beauty and the beauty of nature — Yajñyawatī *is* nature — and all these beauties have their own deities. In 18.8d, for example, we meet the *lakṣmī* of the *puḍak*, *lakṣmī* meaning 'splendour, lustre, beauty', also 'the goddess (of the kraton'). Even the lady's beautiful calves have their own goddess; and this goddess of the calves has meetings with the *dewaning ṭika*, 'the deity of drawings'. The reader becomes somewhat dazzled, confronted with the reality of her beautiful calves meeting with the god of the artistic creation of her beauty.

Next, the idea of identity is abandoned in turn, to make way for a third idea: Yajñawatī is now the standard to which the beauty of nature is compared, she is in reality a goddess bestowing her beauty

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on nature. This is the opposite of the original idea. Stanza 9:

18.9
Thus too the slenderness of the *wakung* sought a refuge in the
princess's fingers,
The redness of the young shoots of the *nāgapuṣpa* tree came from the
fact that she had taken possession of their charms,
The deities of the flower buds were closed, looking at the essence of
her sweetness that never faded,
And the goddess of the hermitage was going to take away her beauty
forthwith, as she was ashamed at having been outdone.

(Note the deification of nature.)
The idea of Yajñawatī's superiority is continued in the first stanzas of canto 19, where nature exposed to Yajñawatī's beauty feels ashamed and flees. At best nature may hope to attain a position as Yajñawatī's adornment. See stanza 19.4 (and 5 below):

19.4
The flowers seemed to be vying with each other — all their adornments
were her attire, glowing with jewels:
Diamonds and emeralds adorned with 'hare's-blood' stones were her
hair band, like the *wirāga* flower.
And the arm-band was the lightning entwining her arms, its glow
splendid;
Flash, flash, flash, her sweetness gleamed dazzlingly on her face,
reminiscent of a forehead-jewel.

Heaven

Does this mean there is nothing with which to compare the princess's beauty? That is indeed the case, in earthly terms. To find a fitting standard of comparison, one has to go to heaven: the princess can only be compared to nature in heaven. The evocation of Yajñawatī's beauty culminates in identifying her with the *pārijāta* or coral tree, one of the five trees that came into being during the churning of the ocean. Canto 19.5 reads:

19.5
In truth the princess was a *pārijāta* tree, with leaves of loveliness and
sweet charms:
Like its budding twigs were her fingers when they sprouted with the
suppleness of her fine nails;
Her flowers spread over her attire and her charms were at their best, as
fragrant as musk,

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And see how she bore lotus-hued rubies as fruits upon her chest, with
seeds in the gold and rubies of her belt-buckle.

Without going into the details of the special qualities shared by the *pārijāta* tree and Yajñawatī it is clear that Yajñawatī's beauty is of paradisiacal dimensions.

Its very placement at the end of the passage describing Yajñawatī's beauty — the description ends here, after which the focus switches to the princess's servants — makes the comparison with the *pārijāta* tree the apotheosis of expressions available to the narrator. Note that the comparison in 19.5 does not introduce any new element: it is a comprehensive summary of the details mentioned in the preceding stanzas. This corroborates our view that it is the supernatural level of Yajñawatī's beauty that is the point of this stanza.

What is unusual about the comparison in 19.5 is its size. The comparison takes on large, almost Homeric dimensions; it elaborates upon the image of the tree and goes on for several lines, filling the entire stanza. Long comparisons are exceptional in Old Javanese kakawin literature. They represent another characteristic feature of the Bhomāntaka.

Interestingly, the wider context of Sāmba and Yajñawatī's reunion of which the present passage forms a part contains another example of such a Homeric comparison in 29.7. Here also the border between two passages is involved (i.e. the transition from the reunion to the battle) and here again a tree is one of the objects, the other object being Sāmba. The heavenly element is absent, however: the comparison in 29.7 refers to a tree in general. Another difference is that between static and dynamic: the tree to which Sāmba is compared is presented as an organism characterized by development. In fact, growth is an essential aspect of the comparison (but then, the *pārijāta* tree and Yajñyawatī represent the highest level beyond which there is no more development).

29.7
The prince heard the thunder of the demon army, and his mind was set
to resist them like a tree:
His courage grew fresh shoots, and his valour sprouted leaves of
boldness;
To bear flowers of fame in battle was his wish, and to pursue victory,
And the never-wilting blossoming of praise would serve as fruits for
him, the shade-giver of the whole world.

Other questions

The purpose of this article is to draw attention to the richness of similes, comparisons and metaphors in the Old Javanese kakawin of Bhomāntaka, something which struck us as extraordinary. We have illustrated our point by analysing one particular passage of the text, in which the heroine's beauty is evoked.

Undoubtedly, there is much more to say than we have said here, if only because we have limited ourselves to two out of the 118 cantos of the kakawin. One question, for example, is to what extent

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the passage discussed here is representative of the Bhomāntaka as a whole. Another (taking other kakawins into consideration) is whether the Bhomāntaka is representative of its genre. Yet another (taking into consideration Sanskrit literature as the source of inspiration of much of Old Javanese literature) is: what is Sanskrit, what is originally Javanese? And, is the distinction between metaphors and comparisons relevant, or is this a Western distinction determined by language or culture?

To answer these and other questions would require the space of a book. We have no doubt that it would be very rewarding to write such a book.

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Echoes of the ecumene: the wrestling match in the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi and the *Arjunawiwāha* of Mpu Kaṇwa[1]

Thomas M. Hunter

Introduction

While it has long been assumed that the *Kirātārjunīya* (KA) of Bhāravi had some form of influence on the composition of the *Arjunawiwāha* (AW) of Mpu Kaṇwa, opinion on the exact nature of this influence has been far from unanimous. Zoetmulder (1974:240), for example, is cautious in attributing any direct influence of Bhāravi on the Javanese poem Mpu Kaṇwa. At the same time he acknowledges that the broad outlines of the Arjunawiwāha follow Bhāravi more closely than the epic version of the Arjuna–Kirāta story found in the 37th chapter (*adhyāya*) of the *Vanaparvan*, the third of the eighteen books (*parvan*) of the (Indian) *Mahābhārata*:

> "That the Arjunawiwāha should be a similar case to that of the Rāmāyaṇa *kakawin,* with the author using not the Sanskrit epic itself, but a later adaptation in kāvya form, is out of the question as far as the Kirātārjunīya is concerned. At most it might be imagined, though perhaps not proved, that *mpu* Kaṇwa [...] knew Bhāravi's poem at least in its general outlines, and that this prompted him to borrow from it the theme of the unsuccessful seduction, with all the opportunity for description that it gives. The epic does not include such an episode in this context." (Zoetmulder 1974:240)

Indira Peterson (2003:161-2, 173), in her recent work on the Kirātārjunīya, takes a more optimistic view of the possible influence of Bhāravi's courtly epic on the composition of Mpu Kaṇwa. She groups the Arjunawiwāha with the *Vikramārjuna-vijaya,* Pampa's court epic in Kannaḍa language, as one of two post-Bhāravi versions of the epic tale that "share the courtly spirit of the *Kirātārjunīya*". Peterson (2003:183) calls special attention to the way that Mpu Kaṇwa has treated the climactic moments of the wrestling match between Arjuna and the supreme deity, Śiva, in his disguise as a hunter from the wild, mountain *kirāta* tribe. She compares the version found in the Arjunawiwāha with those of the *Śivapurāṇa* and Pampa's court epic, concluding that Mpu Kaṇwa followed Bhāravi closely, and was not likely influenced by the anonymous author of the Śivapurāṇa or by the work of a regional composer like Pampa:

> "A Sanskrit bhakti poet [...] the anonymous author of the *Śivapurāṇa* amalgamates elements of Bhāravi's poem with those of the *Mahābhārata* versions [of the Vanaparvan]. The details

[1] This paper is based on a seminar paper prepared for the *Third International Seminar on Indian and Indonesian Art and Culture*, convened at the Indira Gandhi Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, August 2005. The author wishes to thank Dr. Bachchan Kumar for his encouragement and invitation to submit this paper, and Prof. Arlo Griffiths for his very helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

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include poem the sequence with the apsaras, Arjuna's worship of the liṅga, and [...] Śiva's revelation after Arjuna grasps his feet in a wrestling grip [...] The case of the Old Javanese court poem is quite different. As a court poet exalting his king [...] Mpu Kaṇwa appears to have modelled his treatment of Arjuna primarily on Bhāravi's, and his poem's style mainly on the kāvya style of *Kirātārjunīya*. The Kannaḍa court poet Pampa, on the other hand, depicts Arjuna as throwing Śiva down, and throttling him till he catches sight of his error."

Peterson (2003:262, note 4) concludes unequivocally that Mpu Kaṇwa based his work on Bhāravi:

"The first third of the *Arjunawiwāha* was directly inspired by Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*. The Javanese author follows Bhāravi in important details of plot and style, showing at the same time that he knew a version or versions of the *Mahābhārata*, and adding uniquely Javanese elements to the narrative."

While Peterson's evaluation can be supported as far as the plot is concerned, a careful comparison of stylistic features in the Arjunawiwāha with those of Bhāravi might tempt one to adopt Zoetmulder's more cautious assessment. Bhāravi's style is not as difficult as that of later writers like Māgha, Śrīharṣa or Murāri, yet it is dense enough to have led the fourteenth-century commentator Mallinātha to liken his style to the shell of a coconut, that yields its flavour only once its tough exterior has been cracked.[2] Even so, as should be clear from my comparison in this paper of the climactic verses of the wrestling scene of the Kirātārjunīya (KA 18.12) and the Arjunawiwāha (AW 9.3), I believe that instances of stylistic parallelism can be found. While S.O. Robson (2008:11) notes in his recent translation of the Arjunawiwāha that he does not view the work of Mpu Kaṇwa as in any sense "a translation of someone else's work" he also notes parallels that incline more towards the view of Peterson than that of Zoetmulder:

"In short, from general themes and even textual details it appears that Mpu Kaṇwa knew both the Wanaparwa [Vanaparvan] and the Kirātārjunīya, but that he then created a new and original work, with its own logic." (Robson 2008:11)

My purpose in this paper is not to offer the final word on the stylistic relationship of Bhāravi and Mpu Kaṇwa, but rather to suggest that the truth lies somewhere between the assessments of Zoetmulder and Peterson. While the overall structure of the Arjunawiwāha does appear to reflect the courtly style of Bhāravi, there is little evidence of stylistic "mirroring" at the micro-levels of the phrase, clause or verse. At the same time, careful comparison of the Kirātārjunīya and Arjunawiwāha should dispel any doubt that the two works are intimately related from the point of view of thematic development.

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[2] *Ghaṇṭāpatha* of Mallinātha, introduction, verse 6:

nārikelaphalasaṃmitaṃ vaco / bhāraveḥ sapadi tad vibhajyate|
svādayantu rasagarbhanirbharaṃ /sāram asya rasikā yathepsitam ||

"Bhāravi's words are like the fruit of a coconut — only once it is split open by the connoisseur, can its sweet essence of aesthetic pleasure *(rasa)* be enjoyed, according to one's desire."

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Thematic similarities of the *Kirātārjunīya* and *Arjunawiwāha*

In preparation for this paper I have made a point by point comparison of the thematic development of the Kirātārjunīya with two works of the kakawin genre, the Arjunawiwāha (AW) of Mpu Kaṇwa, and the *Pārthayajña* (Pyn), an anonymous work generally considered a late work of the East Javanese period in Javanese history (ca. 928-1512 CE).[3] In that study I found that if we factor out sections of the Pārthayajña that were designed to incorporate an exposition of the philosophy of the Javanese "Rĕsi-sect" and include portions of the Arjunawiwāha only so far as the culmination of the wrestling match between and Śiva-as-Kirāta, we are left with a core of narrative materials that matches the Kirātārjunīya almost exactly in terms of thematic structure and development.[4]

However, there are also significant differences in the details of treatment of similar scenes in the two works that remain puzzling, suggesting either that Mpu Kaṇwa was working from an imperfect knowledge of the work of Bhāravi, or that he consciously altered certain details in order to support his own vision of narrative and thematic development. In this paper I will focus on only one such detail, drawn from the climactic wrestling match. Here we can fill out the evidence available from literary sources by including in our purview narrative reliefs from the Javanese tradition. This will, in turn, suggest a wider dissemination of thematic materials related to the Arjuna-Kirāta story that bespeaks a long development of pedagogic, critical and creative practices characteristic of the archipelago during the era of the Sanskrit ecumene,[5]

The wrestling match of the *Kirātārjunīya* and *Arjunawiwāha*: historical and legendary background

One major difference between Bhāravi and Mpu Kaṇwa's treatment of Arjuna's wrestling match with the supreme deity is the question of scale. Bhāravi's exposition of the arrival of the boar-demon Mūka on Mount Indrakīla, the simultaneous slaying of the demon by Arjuna and Śiva-as-*kirāta* and their subsequent combat — first by strength of arms, and finally through a wrestling match — are all given an elaborate and lengthy treatment by Bhāravi in six lengthy cantos of his work (Cantos XIII-XVIII) that includes a virtuoso display of the full range of possibilities of *citrakāvya* in Canto XV.[6]

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[3] Readers with an interest in further study of the thematic relationship between the Kirātārjunīya on the one hand, and a combination of the Pārthayajña and Arjunawiwāha on the other, are welcome to request the author for a copy of this unpublished manuscript. The study (2005) is titled "A Summary of the *Kirātārjunīya* (KA) and comparison to the *Pārthayajña* (PYn) and *Arjunawiwāha* (AW)".

[4] The remainder of the Arjunawiwāha after the "wrestling match" develops the tale of the struggle of Arjuna and the nymph Tilottamā with the demon Niwatakawaca a theme that Mpu Kaṇwa appears to have developed based on the name of a group of demons that Arjuna must subdue after a visit to Indra's paradise in an episode that is found in the Vanaparvan, but not in the Kirātārjunīya. In Mpu Kaṇwa's narrative Arjuna and Tilottamā visit Indra's paradise after subduing the demon Niwatakawaca, where Arjuna enjoys romantic and erotic pursuits with the heavenly nymphs. His tender farewells upon taking leave of paradise provide the poet with an occasion to demonstrate his skill in the composition of romantic verses in *bhāṣā-kakawin* form.

[5] For the term "Sanskrit ecumene" (and its near-synonym "Sanskrit cosmopolis") see S.Pollock (1996, 2006).

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Mpu Kaṇwa, on the other hand, compresses the entire episode into 35 verses stretched over seven (short) Cantos of the Arjunawiwāha (Cantos VI-XII).

The brevity of Mpu Kaṇwa's exposition of the Arjuna–Kirāta theme in the Arjunawiwāha has never led to this work's being considered anything less than a masterpiece within the tradition of *kakawin* composition, and indeed in many respects the Arjunawiwāha, first of the East Javanese kakawin known to history (composed c. 1035 CE), set the standard for all kakawin to follow.[7] Since later kakawin could grow to considerable length, it seems possible that the relative brevity of the Arjunawiwāha may be related to the circumstances of its composition. In a manner strikingly similar to oral traditions of India around Bhāravi's composition of the Kirātārjunīya, it appears that Mpu Kaṇwa composed his work while in the service of a royal patron who was in the process of reclaiming a kingdom lost by his predecessor. In this case the royal patron was the justly famous Airlangga, whose untiring efforts to reclaim the territory lost to his "relative" *(sambandhin)*, Dharmawangśa Těguh, in the "great destruction" *(mahāpralaya)* of 1006 CE, led to a long period of relative peace and security in East Java that began ca. 1019 with Airlangga's ascension to the throne.[8]

The concluding verse of Kaṇwa's composition (AW 36.2) attests to a sense of urgency, suggesting that his work, perhaps like Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya, was consciously designed to spur his royal patron to valour on the battlefield through an artful blend of martial and religious imagery:

> "The story has thus been woven together that is to be known as the Marriage of
> Arjuna,
> Clearly it is the first attempt of this poet, Mpu Kaṇwa, to arrange words properly, in order to bring
> forth a kakawin,
> But I am agitated and confused, for I am about to go to the battle-field, accompanying
> my lord, the king,

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[6] For a definition of *kirāṭa* that seems dated by modern standards, but brings out the contrast that was played upon by Bhāravi in his depiction of Śiva-as-*kirāṭa* see Monier-Williams (1981:283): "of a degraded mountaintribe (inhabiting woods and mountains and living by hunting, having become Śudras by virtue of their neglect of all religious rites)."

[7] *Kakawin* are "court romances" composed in the Old Javanese (Kawi) language and incorporating Indian quantitative meters, figures and tropes. These are thus comparable to the *kāvya* of India, and indeed were originally inspired by the tradition of composition in *kāvya* form. However, by the time of Mpu Kaṇwa they had developed an indigenous Javanese form that was to endure throughout the East Javanese period in Javanese history (ca. 1035-1512 CE), and was continued in the Balinese tradition of *kakawin* composition well into the nineteenth century.

[8] We know that Dharmawangśa's reign ended with a resounding defeat, the *mahāpralaya,* described in the Pucangan Stele (or Calcutta Stone) dated 1041 CE. Many scholars believe that the *mahāpralaya* was a Śrīwijayan attack aimed at eliminating their most aggressive competitor for control of the maritime trade of the archipelago. Published by Airlangga, the eventual successor of Dharmawangśa, the bilingual inscription of Pucangan tells us that Airlangga was a "relative" *(sambandhin)* of Dharmawangśa and that he was present in the capital in 1006 CE on the occasion of the wedding of Dharmawangśa's daughter. However this joyous event was interrupted by a disastrous attack that led to the death of Dharmawangśa and to the complete destruction of his "palace" *(kadāṭwan, kraton).* Airlangga himself barely managed to escape to the surrounding forests accompanied by one Narottama, whose name ("best among men"), suggests he must have been a royal chaplain or other religious official of high standing in the court. For a recent review of the events related in the Pucangan Stele and of the several earlier readings of these events, see Jordaan (2006).

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Śrī Airlangghya — praise be unto him — over whom poets break their pens that he might show favour." [9]

It is well-known among scholars of the history and literature of ancient Java that there may be strong connections between the tale of Arjuna and the life of Airlangga. Airlangga endured the loss of a kingdom early in his career, when he visited his uncle, Dharmawangśa Tĕguh in 1006 CE on the occasion of the wedding of the daughter of Dharmawangśa. In the course of time he was able to regain the kingdom, but not without a long period of struggle that was initiated with his retreat to the mountains and forests directly after the "great catastrophe" *(mahāpralaya)* of 1006 CE. Airlangga's love for the tale of Arjuna's meditation is attested just as much by his patronage for Mpu Kaṇwa's composition of the Arjunawiwāha as by his legendary association with the relief series from the Arjuna legend found at Sĕlĕm Agĕng cave, where Airlangga is said to have meditated and prepared for battle during several stages of his political career.

This association of the author of the Arjunawiwāha with the struggles of an aspiring monarch suggests parallels with a similar tale around the composition of the Kirātārjunīya that is still popular in Andhra and Karnataka.[10] According to this apocryphal tale Bhāravi composed his tale while accompanying Vikramāditya in his struggle to restore Chālukyan power after the attack of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman in 642 CE had brought an end to the reign of his father, Pulakeśin II. The information in this tale can be tested for veracity by looking to the renowned Aihoḷe inscription that speaks of the fame of its author, Ravikīrti, as equal to that of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, and is composed in Sanskrit verses that demonstrate the virtuousity of its author.[11] Since this inscription can be dated to the years 634-35 CE, and we must further assume that the fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi must have taken some time, if not a generation or more, to reach the heights implied by Ravikīrti in his comparison, then we must conclude that the legend connecting Bhāravi and Vikramāditya is highly improbable.

However, while the evidence of the Aihoḷe inscription casts serious doubt on the possibility that Bhāravi accompanied Vikramāditya in his campaign to restore the fortunes of the Western Chālukyas, there may well be a grain of truth in the apocryphal tale, one that reflects distant memories of an association of Bhāravi with the political struggles of an earlier Chālukyan monarch. It is also possible that the apocryphal tale linking Bhāravi and Vikramāditya may have spread to the archipelago early enough to have had some influence in Java, thus inspiring Mpu Kaṇwa to choose this particular *kāvya* as his model. As Indira Peterson has brought out in her work (2003) Bhāravi's achievement has much to do with the way that he overcame the dualism of ascetic and martial

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[9] *sampun kekĕtan ing kathârjunawiwāha pangarana nike*
sākṣāt tambay ira mpu Kaṇwa tumatâmĕtu-mĕtu kakawin
bhrāntâpan tĕhĕr angharĕp samarakārya mangiringi haji
Śrī Airlangghya namo 'stu sang panikĕlan tanah anganumata. //AW 36.2||

[10] I am indebeted to Pandit Nagaraja Rao of Mysore for this information, shared with a working group in Sanskrit poetics convened at the Institute for Advanced Study at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2003-4.

[11] For more on the Aihoḷe inscription see Salomon (1998:233).

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elements in the Brahmin vision of society and melded them into a doctrine well-suited to political actors in the highly contested arena of Indian kingship. The echoes of this unique amalgamation of martial and ascetic strains in Indian thought can be found throughout the Javano-Balinese traditions, for example in Javanese shadow plays like *Cipto Wĕning* that are based directly on the Arjuna–Kirāta tale. This suggests that it was precisely Bhāravi's success in interweaving martial and ascetic elements to create a model for behavior in the realm of political struggle that ensured its value for poets working in areas as far distant as the Kannaḍa region of Pampa or the East Java of Airlangga and Mpu Kaṇwa.

Further development of our understanding of the way that works like the Kirātārjunīya reached the archipelago may be possible by following the lead of Lokesh Chandra (1995) in his brilliant work on a fragment of the *Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumāradāsa first noted in the manuscript collection of the Faculty of Arts of Universitas Udayana and subsequently traced to Codex Oriental 5089 in the "Kṛtabhāṣa lontars" of the Leiden University Library (1995:1).[12] Originating from a collection of Balinese manuscripts from Lombok this fragment, complete with an interlinear translation in Old Javanese that appears to be based on a study of the Jānakīharaṇa with the aid of a commentary (and hence in a "classroom" environment), runs as far as the twenty-eighth stanza of the first canto of the composition of Kumāradāsa. Further information on the possible pathway for the entry of works like the Jānakīharaṇa and Kirātārjunīya into the Malay-Indonesian archipelago is brought out in works like S. Paranavitana's essay (1967) on the life of the Sri Lankan poet Kumāradāsa. In this work Paranavitana makes use of literary/historical documents like the *Pärakumbāsirita* (composed ca. 1412-1467), the *Pūjāvalī* (ca. 1265) and inscriptions like the ninth century pillar of Mäḍilla and the slab-inscription of Niśśaṅka Malla of the Vāňduruppa monastery to trace the history and legends surrounding the poet Kumāradāsa. Of special note here is Paranavitana's use of a manuscript preserved in Sri Lanka titled the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṃśa* that he describes (1967: lxii) as "a chronicle of Suvarṇṇapura or Śrī Vijaya, said to have been written in the eleventh century". According to this source, not only was the literary work Jānakīharaṇa well-known in Śrīwijaya, but so too was its author. Tracing the history of Kumāradāsa's struggle for survival when threatened by Agrabodhi V, which led him first to the Pallava country and a thorough grounding in Sanskrit poetics and composition under the guiding hand of the rhetorician Daṇḍin (Paranavitana 1967: lxiii) and then to Sumatra, we learn the following from Paranavitana's summary of the Suvarṇṇapuravaṃśa:

> "He [Kumāradāsa] came to know of Agrabhodhi's machinations against him, and thought it prudent to leave Ceylon. He went to Suvarṇṇapura (Śri Vijaya) and presented a copy of the *Jānakīharaṇa* to Purandara, the prince ruling that kingdom. The latter read the poem and was greatly captivated by its charm and beauty; the verse which particularly impressed him is stated to have been Canto III, v[erse] 2 [...] The king of Suvarṇṇapura, it is said, rewarded Kumāradāsa handsomely, and invited him to compose a similar poem on a Buddhist topic." (Paranavitana 1967:lxiv-lxv)

[12] The existence of a fragment of the Jānakīharaṇa in Bali was first noted by Sylvain Lévi (1933).

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Paranavitana continues his summary of the Suvarṇṇapuravaṃśa by noting the similarity of its report of "Purandara's" commission with Sri Lankan reports that it was the renowned poet Āryaśūra who commissioned the *Śrīghana-Nanda* of Kumāradāsa, not long after completing his *Jātakamāla* while in residence "at Anurādhapura in the reign of Mānavarman" (Paranavitana 1967:lxv).[13] According to the Suvarṇṇapuravaṃśa Kumāradāsa completed the work commissioned by Purandara, but left Śrīwijaya in disappointment after the prince judged his work inferior to the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghoṣa, whose *Buddhacarita* was reported as an important part of the Buddhist pedagogy of Śriwijaya as early as the time of the Chinese pilgrim I Ching, who visited Sumatra between 671 and 673 CE (Takakusu 2006).[14]

If we can accept the evidence of the Suvarṇṇapuravaṃśa for Kumāradāsa's study under Daṇḍin in Kāñci of the Pallava country, then he must have composed his Jānakīharaṇa sometime between 685-720 CE, the dates for the life of Daṇḍin arrived at by Rabe (1997:10-11) based on the autobiographical prologue to Daṇḍin's prose work, the *Avantisundarīkathā*. Paranavitana (1967:lxi) cites the internal evidence of the Jānakīharaṇa in support of similar dates for Kumāradāsa:

> "It is interesting [...] to note that in Canto I, v[erse] 18 [of his *Jānakīharaṇa*] Kumāradāsa refers to the city of Kāñci in a somewhat sentimental strain. The mature years of Kumāradāsa would thus have fallen within the reign of Mānavamma (684-718), and the *Jānakīharaṇa* was perhaps composed in his reign. This would accord with the date suggested by scholars for the poem on the ground of its style."

Since the evidence of the Aihoḷe inscription tells us that Bhāravi must have been composing prior to 634-35 CE, and we know that important *kāvya* on Hindu themes like the *Raghuvaṃśa* were carefully studied in ancient Java, then there is every likelihood that an early work as significant as that of Bhāravi may have reached the archipelago by way of the ancient maritime networks that connected South Asia and Sri Lanka with the islands of Sumatra and Java.[15]

The wrestling match of the *Kirātārjunīya* and *Arjunawiwāha*: thematic and aesthetic elements

It is my main purpose in this paper to bring out the slight variations between the depiction of the climactic moments of the wrestling match in the Arjuna–Kirāta story as they are found in the Kirātārjunīya and Arjunawiwāha. The version found in the Kirātārjunīya represents one of the consummate moments of Bhāravi's skill as a poet, utilizing the full potential of the grammatical and

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[13] This part of the tale, must be apocryphal, since Āryaśūra is known to have lived as many as four centuries prior to the time of Kumāradāsa.

[14] I Ching reports beginning his journey in 671 CE, then arriving in the coastal Malay kingdom of Kedah in 673 CE, after he had studied Sanskrit and works of the Mahāyāna canon in Śrīwijaya. He again stopped at the Śrīwijayan capital on his return journey to China for a two-year period beginning in 687 CE. It is important to note that I Ching notes that the study of the *Buddhacarit*a of Aśvaghoṣa was a part of the pedagogy of the Buddhist institutions of Śrīwijaya.

[15] See Zoetmulder (1974:307-311), for comments on the relationship of the kakawin *Sumanasāntaka* with Cantos V-VIII of the *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa. For a longer study of this relationship, see also Hunter (forthcoming-a).

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figural resources of Sanskrit to create a sound-picture that has few parallels or rivals elsewhere in the tradition, though this is certainly nearly impossible to bring out in translation. Consider, for example, the way that four sets of paired locative absolute-accusative constructions in KA18.10a-b set up a picture of the devastating effects of the wrestling match on the otherwise unshakable Himalaya:

pracalite calitaṃ sthitam āsthite / vinamite natam unnatam unnatau |
vṛṣa-kapi-dhvajayor asahiṣṇunā / muhur abhāvabhayād iva bhūbhṛtā || KA 18.10 ||

When these two — Śiva, whose banner is the bull, and Arjuna, who bears the monkeybanner — moved, the mountain moved; when they stood still, it became motionless; when they bent over in struggle, it bowed low with respect; when they stood tall, it followed suit — thus was the Himalaya, unable to bear the weight of their might, at every moment conforming to them, from fear of total annihilation.

The climactic moment of the wrestling match is portrayed with a similar sense of drama, once again depending on subtle effects of grammatical and sonic organization:

viyati vegapariplutam antarā / samabhisṛtya rayeṇa kapidhvajaḥ |
caraṇayoś caraṇānamita-kṣitir / nijagṛhe tisṛṇāṃ jayinaṃ purāṃ || KA 18.12 ||

As Śiva, Lord of the Three Cities, lept swiftly into mid-air, Arjuna, whose feet cause the earth to bow low, forcefully bore down upon him and seized him by his two feet.[16]

The depiction of this scene in the Arjunawiwāha conveys a similar sense of the drama of the encounter, but note that the parallel between the Kirātārjunīya and Arjunawiwāha is less here than in many other instances. First, there is no mention of Śiva's having leapt into the air, and this providing Arjuna the opportunity to grasp him by the ankles and so gain control over his movements. Instead, in the Arjunawiwāha, Śiva first brings Arjuna under *his* control by seizing him by the hair and forcing him to ground. It is from this position that Arjuna then seizes the opportunity to grasp Śiva by the ankles and thus gain the upper hand:

langguk sang hyang parĕng rakwa parĕk ira huwus tyaktāyudha sira |
kapwâsowe silih bandha masĕlur angiring cidrânĕmu sikĕp |
sang Pārthâsor karĕnggut sira wahu katĕlĕh śīghrânĕmu walĕs |
jöng sang hyang karwa kārun tĕkap ira kasikĕp sampun kakawaśa || AW 9.3 ||

The god drew himself up to his full height, it is said, as they approached each other, having abandoned their weapons,
At length they traded holds, without pause looking for each other's weak points, coming to grips,
When the god had seized Arjuna by the hair and forced him down, he quickly found a way to return the blow,
Grasping the two feet of the lord, he gripped them firmly, gaining power over the movement of the god.

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Looking closely at how Mpu Kaṇwa phrases his narration of the crucial point in the wrestling match when Arjuna seizes the feet of Śiva, and thus causes him to reveal himself as the deity, it is tempting to surmise that he was aware of the virtuouso rendition of Bhāravi, and sought within his own poetic idiom resources to support a similar display of poetic skill. Where Bhāravi skillfully balances the vigorous leap of Śiva into the air, and its effects on the earth beneath, with Arjuna's equally dynamic seizing of the feet of the deity, Mpu Kaṇwa makes use of a series of Undergoer-voice verbal constructions derived with the prefix *ka-* to suggest the utter helplessness of the affected wrestlers to heighten the dramatic effects of his narration. First, in AW 9.3c Arjuna is reduced to helplessness through being *karĕnggut,* "seized by the hair"*(karĕnggut)* and "pressed down (to the ground)" *(katĕlĕh)*. But following this (AW 9.3d) Arjuna finds a way to strike back *(walĕs):* first the two feet of Śiva are "grasped" *(kārun),* then "held tightly" *(kasikĕp)* and with that deity is brought "completely under control"*(kakawaśa).* Note that the perspective in both cases is that of the patient, the person controlled by the forceful actions of his opponent, and that the repeated use of the morphosyntactic marker *ka-* that indicates this perspective also supports effects of alliteration and assonance (*karwa kārun tĕkap ira kasikĕp sampun kakawaśa*).

While more work needs to be done on the degree to which Mpu Kaṇwa's use of language may mirror, otherwise respond to, the language of Bhāravi, the result of comparisons between verses like KA 18.12 and AW 9.3 suggest that Mpu Kaṇwa was not unaquainted with the diction of Bhāravi and that further research might reveal other instances of some degree of parallelism between the language of the two works. It is more important for this study, however, to open up the question of whether Mpu Kaṇwa's balancing of a particular set of morphosyntactic markers in AW 9.3 to heighten the dynamism of his narrative may have led him to depart from the classical rendition of the climactic moment of the wrestling scene, transferring the action from one that takes place as Śiva leaps into the air to one in which Arjuna grasps the feet of the deity while being pressed to the ground. We thus turn to a brief review of the art-historical evidence to show that the classical version of the story as related by Bhāravi was indeed well known in Java.

The wrestling match in the *Arjunawiwāha* reliefs of Candi Jago

The possibility that Mpu Kaṇwa reformulated the climactic moment of the wrestling match in order to take advantage of the sonic and grammatical possibilities of the Old Javanese language becomes more probable when we turn to the visual evidence. The Kirāta tale is found represented in the narrative reliefs of at least three East Javanese temples, including Candi Jago, Candi Surwana and Candi Kedaton at Tiris. The Arjunawiwāha reliefs of Candi Jago may have been completed as early as the consecration of the temple in 1280 CE, that is 12 years after the death of Wiṣṇuwarddhana was at that point apotheosized, or "installed" *(pinratiṣṭha)* as the central image of Amoghapāśa of the temple. However, it is also possible that the reliefs of Candi Jago were completed as late as the mid-fourteenth century, and indeed their style is reminiscent of reliefs of Candi Panataran dated from that period.[17]

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The reliefs of Candi Jago are the most extensive in terms of coverage of the events found in the Arjunawiwāha, and are moreover found together on the walls of Candi Jago with a series of narrative reliefs closely following the narrative order of events preceding Arjuna's penance on Mount Indrakīla as they are known to us from the kakawin Pārthayajña (PYn). As I have noted earlier in this paper, by combining the events depicted in the Pārthayajña and Arjunawiwāha we arrive at a narrative sequence that follows very closely indeed on the story of Arjuna's penance as developed in Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya, and this is indeed also a narrative sequence that is followed in the reliefs of Candi Jago.

Fig.1: Arjuna grasps the feet of Śiva, intending to tackle him,
after the god has leapt into midair; from the Arjunawiwāha reliefs of Candi Jago

[17] While Bosch does not mention this possibility in his study (1921) of the inscriptions on the front and back of the base of an image of Mañjuśrī dated 1265 Śaka (= 1343 CE), it is altogether possible that the *Jinālaya,* "abode of the victorious (Buddha-s)" mentioned in the portion of the inscription composed by Ādityavaraman refers to Candi Jago, and we know that this shrine was of central significance to the lineage of the Sumatran dynasty of Mauliwarmmadewa that he went on to lead from 1347 CE . This suggests that the completion of work at Candi Jago may have been carried out as late as the mid-fourteenth century.

[18] Photograph of the author. For a published photograph of the Pārthayajña and Arjunawiwāha relief series at Candi Jago see Brandes (1904). The relief pictured here (the climactic scene from the wrestling match) is numbered 189 in the plates from Brandes (1904). The order of reliefs in Brandes (1904) runs counter to their actual sequence since at the time of his study it was not yet known that the reliefs of Candi Jago follow the *prasavya* orientation typical of funerary temples of East Java.

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It can hardly be a coincidence that the version of the climactic event of the wrestling match from the Kirāta story as found in the reliefs of Candi Jago shows Arjuna grasping the feet of the supreme deity as he is in mid-air, clearly having just leapt from the surface of the earth with great force (see Fig.1).[18] This is unmistakably the version of events known from the Kirātārjunīya (KA 18.12), not that of the Arjunawiwāha (AW 9.3). The dimunitive size of the leaping deity may seem odd at first glance when compared to the monumental size of Arjuna, who grasps the leaping deity by the ankles. But the *supit arang* headdress of Arjuna, whose "double-peaks" are well-known from both Javanese and Balinese shadow plays *(wayang)* makes for a positive identification, while the simpler coronet-like style of the crown of Śiva is also well-known in association with shadow play figures of the gods and goddesses of the Hindu-Javanese pantheon.

Fig. 2: The demon Niwātakawaca sends the boar-demon, Mūka, to attack Arjuna; from the Arjunawiwāha reliefs of Candi Jago

[19] Photograph of the author. See also Brandes (1904, plate 192).

[20] A final decorative panel following this scene (Brandes 1906, Fig.178) shows a voluptuous female adjusting her chignon while gazing into a mirror that is strongly reminiscent of Indian styles in relief carving. This panel suggests that the preceding panel does indeed represent Arjuna during his visit to the paradise of Indra, which is notable in Mpu Kaṇwa's rendering for the subtlety of its romantic and erotic verses (AW 28.6-13, 30.2-35.15). The consecration of Arjuna as a prince worthy of (temporary) residence in the abode of the gods is also as clearly depicted at Jago (Brandes 1906, figure 178) as it is in the narration of Mpu Kaṇwa (AW 29.1-8).

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Yet in all other respects the narrative reliefs of Candi Jago follow the Arjunawiwāha. We find, for example, that it is the demon Niwātakawaca who dispatches the boar-demon, Muka, to attack Arjuna on Mount Indrakīla (see Fig. 2).[19] The narrative reliefs of the Arjuna-Kirāta story at Candi Jago can thus be said to follow the classical rendition of the tale as told by Bhāravi up to and including the crucial wrestling scene. However, following that point the reliefs follow closely the narrative as known from the Arjunawiwāha, culminating in a scene that appears to represent Arjuna and the nymph Tilottamā standing next to a sleeping pavilion in the presence of Lord Indra and two of his retinue (Brandes 1906, Fig. 177). [20]

Conclusion

A close comparison of the verses following the climactic moment of Arjuna's attempt to tackle the supreme deity as found in the Kirātārjunīya and Arjunawiwāha, reveals some points on which there are significant differences, but other points where there is a clear parallelism between the two texts. In both the Kirātārjunīya and Arjunawiwāha Arjuna's grasping of the feet of the Kirāta, a familiar act of devotion and supplication to a deity, forces Śiva to reveal himself to Arjuna. However, in KA 18.5 Śiva takes the mythic and iconographic form familiar to devotees of the subcontinent, his body white as Himalayan snow from a coating of funeral ash, the crescent moon worn as his brow ornament. In AW 9.4, on the other hand, Śiva reveals himself in *ardhanārīśwara* form, combining male and female aspects of the divinity in a pattern that appears to have taken on even greater importance in the archipelago than it had in South Asia, especially judging from textual passages like *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* 25.1-8, where the Love God and his spouse appear in this form.

The "praise-hymn" *(stuti)* that Arjuna enunciates upon his recognition that he has been wrestling with the supreme deity differ enormously in terms of length (Verses 18.22-43—22 verses in the Kirātārjunīya, Verses 10.1-2, 11.1-2 — 4 verses in the Arjunawiwāha), but this has not prevented the few verses given in the Arjunawiwāha from having gained a reputation as the epitome of the devotional form in poetry among Hindu worshippers of the archipelago.

The concluding verses of the Kirātārjunīya, depicting the gift of the "Rudra-weapon" to Arjuna, are again closely parallel with the form taken in the Arjunawiwāha. While the awe-inspiring form taken by the fiery spirit who embodies the weapon Śiva bestows on Arjuna joins in the Kirātārjunīya with the body of Arjuna, and in the Arjunawiwāha with the weapon itself, the thematic similarities at this point between the two texts are too many to be explained as mere coincidence, or by Mpu Kaṇwa's knowledge of the narrative structure of the Kirātārjunīya simply through sources in the oral tradition.

By comparing textual and visible evidence around the climactic point of the wrestling match as known from the Kirātārjunīya and Arjunawiwāha, we must conclude Mpu Kaṇwa had a first-hand knowledge of Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya, but chose not to follow the lead of his Indian predecessor in every detail, instead moulding the narrative materials at his disposal in terms of the poetic and grammatical resources of the Old Javanese language. The existence of visual evidence from East Javanese reliefs that reflects more closely the narrative details of the wrestling scene as known

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from the Kirātārjunīya (KA 18.12) than that of the Arjunawiwāha (AW 9.3), taken alongside growing evidence for the creative use of Indian textual materials by composers of the archipelago, suggests a set of pedagogical, literary and critical practices that had begun to evolve well before they bore fruit in the visual arts, architecture and literary productions of Central Java (ca. 732-928 CE) and East Java (ca. 928-1512 CE). This suggests the need to develop a "prehistory of the kakawin", taking advantage of all the critical, art historical and textual resources we now have at hand in order to account for the extraordinary efflorescence of the arts that made its first appearance in literary form with the Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (composed ca. 856 CE) and the Arjunawiwāha of Mpu Kaṇwa.

Appendix: Comparison of the climax of the wrestling match in the *Kirātārjunīya* and *Arjunawiwāha*[21]

I. *Kirātārjunīya* 18.8-15

pravavrte 'tha mahāhavamallayor / acala-saṃcalanāharaṇo raṇaḥ |
karaṇaśṛṅkhala-saṃkalanāgurur / gurubhujāyudhagarvitayos tayoḥ ||KA 18.8||

Then a great battle — that set mighty mountains in motion — began between those two mighty wrestlers, who exulted in their arms as powerful as any weapon and were joined together in wrestling holds twined as tightly as chains.

ayam asau bhagavān uta pāṇḍavaḥ / sthitam avāṅ muninā śaśimaulinā |
samadhirūḍham ajena nu jiṣṇunā / svid iti vegavaśān mumuhe gaṇaiḥ ||KA 18.9||

"Who is on top, Śiva or Arjuna, who is beneath, Arjuna or Śiva? Is the god who wears the moon as his crest ornament the one on top, or the one on the bottom? Has the god attained the commanding hold, or is it Arjuna — what do you think?" the gods were thrown into confusion by the speed of the battle.

pracalite calitaṃ sthitam āsthite / vinamite natam unnatam unnatau |
vṛṣa-kapi-dhvajayor asahiṣṇunā / muhur abhāvābhayād iva bhūbhṛta || KA 18.10||

When these two — Śiva, whose banner is the bull, and Arjuna, who bears the monkey-banner — moved, the mountain moved, when they stood still, it became motionless, when they bent over in struggle, it bowed with respect, when they stood tall, it followed suit — thus was the Himalaya, at every moment, unable to bear the weight of their might, from fear of total annihilation.

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[21] I am indebted to Peter Khoroche for generously sparing time to work through these key passages of the *Kirātārjunīya* with me, and for his patience and forbearance in helping me understand the structure of Bhāravi's style in the composition of *kāvya*. Any errors and shortcomings in the translations here are my own.

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karaṇa-śṛṅkhala-niḥsṛtayos tayoḥ / kṛta-bhuja-dhvani valgu vivalgatoḥ |
caraṇa-pāta-nipātita-rodhasaḥ / prasasṛpuḥ saritaḥ paritaḥ sthalīḥ || KA 18.11 ||

The rivers all round overflowed onto the land, as their banks collapsed under the blows of the footfalls of those two mighty wrestlers, who nimbly leapt about smacking their arms, when they released the grip on each others limbs, when they were able to free themselves from the chain-like holds with which each bound the other.

viyati vegapariplutam antarā / samabhisṛtya rayeṇa kapidhvajaḥ |
caraṇayoś caraṇānamita-kṣitir / nijagṛhe tisṛṇāṃ jayinaṃ purāṃ || KA 18.12 ||

As Śiva, Lord of the Three Cities, lept swiftly into mid-air, Arjuna, whose feet cause the earth to bow low, forcefully bore down upon him and seized him by his two feet.

vismitaḥ sapadi tena karmaṇā / karmaṇāṃ kṣaya-karaḥ paraḥ pumān |
kṣeptu-kāmam avanau tam aklamaṃ / niṣpapeṣa parirabhya vakṣasā ||KA18.13||

Śiva — the Supreme Being, who destroys the ill effects of all actions — was amazed by this action taken by the one who wished to throw him down. Instantly, and without effort he locked his opponent in the embrace of his mighty chest and there pulverized him.

tapasā tathā na mudam asya yayau / bhagavān yathā vipula-sattvatayā |
guṇa-saṃhateḥ samatiriktam aho / nijam eva sattvam upakāri satām ||KA 18.14||

The Lord was content not so much by Arjuna's austerities, as by his abundant courage. A good man's own character is his standby and of far greater value than a mass of acquired qualities.

atha himaśuci-bhasma-bhūṣitaṃ / śirasi virājitam indulekhayā |
svavapur atimanoharaṃ haraṃ / dadhatam udīkṣya nanāma pāṇḍavaḥ ||18.15||

Then — beholding Śiva, whose body is ornamented by funeral ash as white as snow, whose brow shines brightly with the light of the crescent moon, who had assumed his true and beautiful form as the god Hara, Arjuna bowed low with respect.

II. *Arjunawiwāha* 9.3-4

langguk sang hyang parĕng rakwa parĕk ira huwus tyaktāyudha sira |
kapwâsowe silih bandha masĕlur angiring cidrânĕmu sikĕp |
sang Pārthâsor karĕnggut sira wahu katĕlĕh śīghrânĕmu walĕs |
jöng sang hyang karwa kārun tĕkap ira kasikĕp sampun kakawaśa ||AW 9.3||

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The god drew himself up to his full height, it is said, as they approached each other, having abandoned their weapons,
At length they traded holds, without pause looking for each other's weak points, coming to grips,
When the god had seized Arjuna by the hair and forced him down, he quickly found a way to return the blow,
Grasping the two feet of the lord, he gripped them firmly, gaining power over the movement of the god.

sānyāsâmběk nirângjambakěna hilang ikang jöng tan pajamuga |
sumyūk tang puṣpawarṣâmarěngi jaya-jayâstungkāra karěngö |
māyā-māya jugângañjali wěkasan anon tejâkara-kara |
sākṣāt-dṛṣṭârdhanārīśwara těka hana ring padmāsana maṇi || AW 9.4 ||

At the point he intended to throw the god to the ground, those two feet disappeared and his action bore no fruit,
A rain of flowers poured down, accompanied by the sounds of heavenly voices crying out "victory — may you be victorious",
It could only be magic — he made a gesture of respect with folded hands, after beholding a brilliant light spreading in all directions,
The visible image of *Ardhanārīśwara* had come before him, seated on a jewelled lotus-seat.

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The Old Javanese *Sabhāparwa*
A summary and reconstruction of its manuscript[1]

S. Supomo

Since the publication of Friederich's preliminary report on the island of Bali in 1849-1850, it has been widely known that eight *parwa* (Old Javanese prose renderings of the Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*) were extant in Bali. Those eight parwa are the *Ādiparwa, Wirāṭaparwa, Bhīṣmaparwa, Udyogaparwa, Āśramawāsaparwa, Mosalaparwa, Prasthānikaparwa* and *Swargarohanaparwa* (Friederich 1959:19). What is less known is the existence of another parwa, the *Sabhāparwa*, although its manuscript, together with some four hundred manuscripts of other works, had been discovered in Central Java in about 1852 — just a couple of years after the publication of Friederich's report (Wiryamartana and Van der Molen 2001:52-53).

Whether those nine extant parwa were the only books of the *Mahābhārata* that had been rendered into Old Javanese or whether they were part of a project to render the whole epic which had been successfully completed, but half of them subsequently lost, are questions that cannot be answered with any certainty.[2] There can be no doubt, however, that the outcome of this project, the parwa, has had a lasting impact on the development of Javanese and Balinese literature and Indonesian cultural life in general. It was from the parwa that many East Javanese poets — and in later period, Balinese poets — borrowed themes for their *kakawin*.

It is because of this great influence of the parwa on kakawin literature that Zoetmulder discusses the parwa at length in his survey of Old Javanese literature, although his primary interest lies more "on the 'belletristric' side, on the products of Old Javanese literary art, [and] on the place that the cultivation of poetry and of what we may call the cult of beauty (O.J. *kalangön)* occupied in Hindu-Javanese culture" (Zoetmulder 1974:36). Thus he devotes the whole of Chapter Two of his study *Kalangwan* to the parwa literature, providing summaries of eight of the nine parwa of the Mahābhārata and a summary of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic. He also discusses at length their relationship with their Sanskrit originals as well as the question of their dating and authorship (Zoetmulder 1974:68-100).

On the Sabhāparwa, however, we find no more than one paragraph in Kalangwan (Zoetmulder 1974:97-98). The main purpose of this paper is a modest one — to provide a summary of the Sabhāparwa, so as to complete what is missing in Chapter Two of Kalangwan.

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[1] This is a slightly modified version of a paper presented at the International Seminar on Old Javanese held at the University of Indonesia, Jakarta, 9-10 July, 2005.

[2] For a discussion on this question see Zoetmulder (1974:95) and Supomo (1996:17-18).

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The survival of a unique manuscript

While the great majority of Old Javanese works owed their survival by first "migrating" to Bali, then being copied and re-copied by Balinese copyists, the only manuscript of the Sabhāparwa that has come down to us hails not from Bali, but from a small village situated on the slopes of Mount Merbabu in Central Java. In this respect I agree with Wiryamartana and Van der Molen (2001:53) that it is a unique manuscript.

We do not know how this manuscript, or its ancestor, came to the Mount Merbabu area for the first time, but apparently it was not unusual in ancient Java for manuscripts to be taken to remote areas far from the royal courts. We know from Prapañca's account in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (29.1), for instance, that his friend Mapañji Kṛtayaśa, a poet and Buddhist interpreter who lived some distance away from the *kraton* of Majapahit, was also a book collector who "had always valued highly the literary works that he bought, put into good order and guarded well" (Robson 1995:44). It may be just a coincidence, but this unique manuscript of the Sabhāparwa was also part of a collection of manuscripts which once was owned by a certain Windusana, a high priest in the *buda* religion who lived in a remote area (Wiryamartana and Van der Molen 2001:52).[3]

Nor do we know exactly when that manuscript, or its ancestor, came into the possession of Windusana. We only know that, according to Van der Molen's calculation, Windusana must have passed away by 1759. And since it is not likely that new manuscripts were added to the collection after his death, all the manuscripts in his collection, including that of the Sabhāparwa, must have been written prior to that year (Van der Molen 1983:113).

That all these manuscripts could have survived such a long journey from the remote past, is no doubt because Windusana's collection must have been "guarded well" — in fact the manuscripts were regarded as *pusaka* "revered heirlooms" by his descendants (Van der Molen 1983:113). Such a high regard, however, obviously did not always ensure the survival of a manuscript. When Windusana's collection was first known in around 1822, it was said to have consisted of more than a thousand manuscripts. But when the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* took possession of the collection in about 1852, it had dwindled to some four hundred only (Wiryamartana and Van der Molen 2001:52). So, in about thirty years more than six hundred manuscripts were lost. As there seems to be no plausible reason why this particular manuscript of the Sabhāparwa should not have been one of the manuscripts that disappeared without any trace, we can only surmise that its survival is attributable to nothing else but pure luck.

These manuscripts remained the most valuable collection in the possession of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap*. They were later transferred to the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia, where they now remain, and are known as the Merapi-Merbabu manuscript collection. But even in

[3] That collections of manuscripts were found in both the royal courts and monastic institutions in ancient Java is still reflected in present-day Bali. Most manuscripts discovered in the Balinese Manuscript Project have come from either the royal courts *(puri)* or priestly houses *(gria)* (see Creese 1999:54-56).

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this supposedly safe environment, one cannot take their survival for granted. As told in Kalangwan, when Professor Zoetmulder visited the National Library in the 1960s he had an opportunity to examine the manuscript of the Sabhāparwa. As there was no time then for a thorough investigation, he had to be content with only a very cursory inspection. But when "years later" he wished to examine it again, "on repeated inquiry, it proved untraceable, and so far has not been found" (Zoetmulder 1974:97) — and this was probably the main reason that he was unable to include more than one paragraph about this parwa in Kalangwan (see above).

So, when I happened to visit the National Library in 1986 and asked for that manuscript, I did not really expect to get it. I was really surprised, therefore, when it was given to me fairly quickly without any fuss. Apparently, after Zoetmulder's repeated enquiries, the "missing" manuscript was found, and placed properly in its designated box. The manuscript was later duly catalogued as L 92 by Behrend (1998:348), retaining its old codex number as listed in Poerbatjaraka's catalogue (1933:351). Such a happy ending, however, is not always the case — quite a number of manuscripts listed in Behrend's catalogue are described as "missing" *(naskah hilang),* or given asterisks to indicate that those manuscripts had been irretrievably lost.[4]

We do not know about the condition of manuscript L 92 when it was obtained by the *Bataviaasch Genootschap*, but, as Setyawati et al. have remarked, all its leaves are now "blackish", and some are "broken, fragile, and perforated".[5] I myself found that its condition was deteriorating. When I read the manuscript in 1986, it was apparent to me that its condition was worse than when it was copied for the first time. This is evident from the fact that some readings which occur in the copy were no longer found in L 92, apparently because after the copying took place some parts of the leaves had broken. And when I had another opportunity to examine the manuscript again in 1996, I noticed that its condition had deteriorated even further: the number of its broken leaves had increased and new holes had appeared in some of the leaves.

Reconstructing the sequential order of the manuscript

Like other manuscripts of the Merapi-Merbabu collection, L 92 is a *lontar* manuscript. It was written in *buda* script. It consists of 60 leaves, all with page numbers in Javanese as well as in Arabic numerals. There are two copies of this manuscript existing in the National Library, one in the Brandes collection (Br 600), and the other in the KBG collection (BG 350) (Behrend 1998:600; 350; Setyawati et al. 2002:92). Both copies are written in Modern Javanese scripts, and seemingly by two different hands. Neither the dates of the copying, nor the names of the copyists are mentioned in either copy, nor, as far as I know, are they reported in any catalogue. Another copy, a Romanised transliteration, is in the possession of the Kirtya Library in Singaraja with codex number 2389.[6]

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[4] See for instance Behrend 1998:62 (Br 65 – 67); 75 (Br 93 – 96) and 280 (ML 22*, ML 35*, ML 36* and ML 50*).

[5] *"Semua muka lempir kehitaman. Beberapa lempir patah-patah, lapuk, berlubang-lubang"* (Setyawati et al. 2002:76).

[6] This manuscript is erroneously listed as "Saba Parwa, Wana Parwa" in Pigeaud (1968:969).

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A note written on the top left side of the first page tells us that it is a copy of a manuscript received from "K.B.G. Djakarta" and was copied (and typed) in 1952 by P. Geria and W. Mendra.

After comparing all these four manuscripts, I feel fairly certain that only BG 350 is a direct copy of L 92, while Br 600 is a copy of BG 350, and the Kirtya manuscript was copied from Br 600. I find that in general BG 350 is a faithful copy of L 92. There are even slashes (/) throughout the copy to indicate where the pages of the copied manuscript (L 92) end. More importantly, unlike the Kirtya copy, there seems to be no conscious attempt made on the part of the copyist to "correct" the errors occurring in the original text. Moreover, the writing is neat and beautiful, as well as easy to read.[7]

All that copying and recopying seems to indicate that there must have been some interest in this particular manuscript among scholars. Considering the importance of the Sabhāparvan in the development of the narrative of the Mahābhārata, such interest is not surprising. As Van Buitenen (1975:3) puts it, "*The Book of the Assembly Hall* is the pivotal one of the eighteen Major Books of the *Mahābhārata*; it is also one of the more diversified and interesting ones". It is in this parwa that the hatred between the Pāṇḍawas and the Korawas that was already apparent in the Ādiparwa reaches its culmination, so that the only way to end that enmity is by a war that will bring destruction of one side by the other.

The question is why, despite all that apparent interest, not even one article dealing with any aspect of the Old Javanese Sabhāparwa has so far appeared in any publication. The answer is perhaps to be found in the poor condition of the manuscript, both physically and textually. Thus, according to Poerbatjaraka, the text is "very corrupt" *(zeer corrupt,* Poerbatjaraka 1933:351), while Zoetmulder found the text as "corrupt to an appalling degree" (1974:97). Likewise, Setyawati et al. comment that the text "is not complete" and that "some leaves are most likely missing".[8]

After examining this manuscript I found that none of those comments are an exaggeration. It has often been said that the readings of manuscripts that came from Java are, in general, inferior to those of the manuscripts originating from Bali (see Supomo 1993:49-54). In this regard manuscript L 92 is no exception — indeed I found that, textually, it was one of the worst manuscripts, if not the worst, that I have read. All manner of defects and copying errors as listed by Kuntara Wiryamartana in his examination of the *Arjunawiwāha* manuscript MP 165 — a manuscript originating from the same area of Mount Merbabu (Wiryamartana 1990:23-30) — are found in L 92. As is clear from Wiryamartana's observation, with the help of other manuscripts of the same work, many such defects and errors, including lengthy repetitions and missing passages, can be easily recognised and corrected. But with only one manuscript at our disposal, it is often not possible to recognize the defects and errors that occur in L 92, let alone to correct them.

Moreover, it is evident that at least at one stage during its long transmission the sequential order of the leaves of the exemplar of L 92, or one of its ancestors, must have been disturbed — probably

[7] Because the microfilm of L 92 which I obtained from the National Library is not very clear on the screen — perhaps because the leaves are "blackish" — for the present study, I often relied on the readings of this manuscript.

[8] *"Teks tidak lengkap. Mungkin sekali ada lempir-lempir yang hilang"* (Setyawati et al. 2002:76).

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because someone inadvertently had mixed up the leaves of the manuscript. This kind of disorder is not uncommon among Old Javanese manuscripts, but again, if other manuscripts of the same work in the correct sequential order are available, such disorder usually can be restored without too much difficulty.[9] However, the scribe of L 92, or one of its ancestors, obviously was unaware that the sequential order of the leaves of the manuscript he was about to copy had been disturbed. Accordingly, he or she simply continued to copy the original manuscript as it was. Thus we find, for instance, that a certain episode ends abruptly in the middle of p.19a, while its continuation is found on p. 28a, and in between those two we read different episodes that also start and end abruptly. And to make matters worse, as we can see from the following table, the disorder obviously did not happen in just one place, but in more than twenty places. It is not surprising that the text was in a complete shambles.

Since we have no other manuscript of the Old Javanese Sabhāparwa, the only recourse we have to untangle this mix-up is by comparing it with the Sanskrit Sabhāparvan. In this regard, though, we have to be cautious. In the first place we do not know the exact Sanskrit prototype of the text which was used by the Javanese author;[10] and secondly, parwa obviously were never intended as a complete translation of the Mahābhārata by their authors. To be sure, many passages are close translations of the Sanskrit texts, but in general the Javanese writers seem to have been content with presenting an abbreviated form of the epic in Old Javanese prose. The *adhyāya,* 'chapters', were mostly shortened, many were even omitted altogether. Accordingly, all the parwa that have been published so far are of much slimmer volumes than their originals (Zoetmulder 1974:87, 515).

Closer examination shows, however, that these omissions were not made arbitrarily. As Belvalkar notes in his detailed study of the relationship between the Bhīṣmaparwa and its Sanskrit original, the omitted chapters are mostly unimportant descriptions of matters or events that have no significant impact on the narrative. They contain either unnecessary details, often technical and controversial, or repetitions of what had been previously narrated (Belvalkar 1947:LXXXVI-LXXXVII). There seems to be no doubt that such a finding is equally applicable to all the other surviving parwa. Thus, despite such heavy pruning, not only the broad outlines of the narratives of the epics remain intact, but we also find that most of the important elements of those narratives are retained. More importantly, many proper names are also retained in the parwa, and mostly in recognizable forms. I found that in a passage which is "corrupt to an appalling degree", the proper names, especially an enumeration of them, are often the only help available to determine the location of that particular passage in its right sequential order.

Another special feature of the parwa, which is also useful in this regard, is the occurrence of Sanskrit quotations in the text which are mostly taken from the corresponding passages of the

[9] See, for instance, Wiryamartana (1990:19-20, 486-89) for the restoration of such disorder which occurs in the Arjunawiwāha manuscript MP 165; and Supomo (2001:116 n.3) for the Sumanasāntaka manuscript LOr 5015

[10] For a discussion on this problem see Zoetmulder (1974:92-94) and Supomo (1993:15-6, 24).

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Mahābhārata. These quotations often consist of a full *śloka*, sometimes of one line, or even of only a few words, and then followed directly by a translation or paraphrase of the quoted passage in Old Javanese. They are found throughout the text, without a definite pattern. So far I have identified about forty such quotations in the Sabhāparwa. Whatever purposes such a quotation may have had for the writer or for the readers (Zoetmulder 1974:89-92), they are most useful as a tool to pin-point the exact location of the passage.

In the following table, the first column indicates the page numbers of manuscript L 92; the second is the *adhyāya* and the verse numbers of the Sabhāparvan; and the third is the reconstructed sequential order.

Pages of manuscript L 92	MBh: Sabhāparvan	Reconstructed sequence
1a - 19a	2.2.23(?) - 25.3	(1)
19a - 28a	2.28.1 - 38.34	(3)
28a - 29a	2.25.4 - 27.2	(2)
29a - 33b	2.40.12 - 43.19	(5)
34a	2.44.1 - 44.10	(7)
34b	2.43.27	(6)
35a-36a	2.44.15 - 45.6	(8)
36a	2.50.6	(12)
36b	2.45.12 - 45.13	(9)
37a	2.50.7	(13)
37b - 38a	2.45.36 - 45.43	(10)
38a - 39a	2.38.34(?) - 40.10	(4)
39a - 42b	2.52.2 - 55.10	(15)
43a - 43b	2.63.2(?) - 63.28(?)	(21)
44b - 45a	2.58.9 - 58.43	(17)
45a - 48a	2.60.1 - 61.32	(18)
48b - 49a	2.45.43 - 45.55	(11)
49a	2.51.20 - 52.1	(14)
49b - 52b	2.61.52 - 63.11	(20)
53a - 53b	2.56 - 57	(16)
54a - 58b	2.63.28 - 68.26	(22)
59a - 59b	2.61.5 - 61.48	(19)
60a - 60b	2.69 - 70	(23)

It is clear from the above table that certain *adhyāya* of the Sabhāparvan are not found in the Old Javanese Sabhāparwa. Some of them obviously because they occurred in leaves which were missing from the manuscript (e.g. *adhyāya* 1-2 and 70-73), and some may have been deliberately

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omitted by the author himself — probably because they were only repetitions of what had been narrated before (e.g. *adhyāya* 46-49). In the following summary, if it is necessary to make the story clearer, those parts of the episodes missing in the Old Javanese Sabhāparwa will be substituted with the corresponding parts from the Sabhāparvan [in square brackets], using Edgerton's edition (1944) and Van Buitenen's translation (1975).

Summary of the Old Javanese Sabhāparwa

[In gratitude for having been rescued from the fire in the Khāṇḍawa forest by Arjuna (as narrated at the end of the Ādiparwa) the *asura* Maya wishes to reciprocate. Kṛṣṇa suggests that Maya should build an assembly hall *(sabhā)* for Yudhiṣṭhira. Kṛṣṇa then takes his leave to return home to Dwārawatī (OJ- ; MBh. 2.1-2)].[11] Maya goes to a place near Windusara to collect the treasures which were left behind by king Wṛṣaparwan, who had returned to heaven. Maya returns to Indraprastha, bringing with him the treasures to build the *sabhā* for Yudhiṣṭhira, a club for Bhīma and a conch named Dewadatta for Arjuna. After its completion, Yudhiṣṭhira enters the hall and sits on the throne, attended by his four brothers and Dropadī, many sages and princes from other countries (1a-3a; cf. Mbh. 2.3-4).

In the meantime the seer Nārada arrives. He is honoured by Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers. Nārada praises Yudhiṣṭhira's hall as the finest on earth, then, at Yudhiṣṭhira's request, he describes the heavenly *sabhā* of Indra, Yama, Baruṇa, Kubera and Brahmā and enumerates the names of the sages, princes and others who are present at each *sabhā* (3a-6a; cf. Mbh. 2.7-10). He also tells Yudhiṣṭhira that his father Pāṇḍu urge him, Yudhiṣṭhira, to emulate the deeds of the ancient royal sage Hariścandra and to perform the Royal Consecration *(rājasūya),* so that his father can go to the hall of Indra like King Harīścandra (6b-7a; cf. MBh. 2.11).

Yudhiṣṭhira then announces his wish to perform the *rājasūya* and calls his brothers and his councillors for advice. They approve his plan and give him full support. As he feels uncertain, he decides to consult Kṛṣṇa and sends a messenger to Dwārawatī. Kṛṣṇa quickly arrives at Indraprastha and Yudhiṣṭhira asks for his advice (7a-7b; cf. MBh. 2.12). He approves Yudhiṣṭhira's plan, but tells him that it can be undertaken only after killing Jarāsandhi,[12] king of Magadha, who has subdued other countries and taken their kings as captives to be sacrificed to God Rudra. Yudhiṣṭhira still hesitates, but Bhīma and Arjuna urge him to conquer other countries (7b-10a; cf. MBh. 2.13-15).

Kṛṣṇa tells Yudhiṣṭhira the story of the miraculous birth of Jarāsandhi. Bṛhadratha, king of Magadha, laments to a *wiku* named Caṇḍakośika that he has no son. The hermit gives him a mango which happens to drop in his lap. The king gives the mango to his two wives, both get pregnant, and

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[11] The Old Javanese text starts with the opening phrase *oṃ awighnam astu nama siḍĕm,* and is followed by the text of the Sabhāparwa, commencing with an incomplete sentence, from about MBh 2.2.22. Since the first two *adhyāya* of the Sabhāparvan are only about 42 verses long, perhaps one *lĕmpir,* or may be two if it had a lengthy *manggala,* had been missing from the exemplar of L 92.

[12] Instead of Jarāsandha, as in the Sanskrit text as well as in other Old Javanese works, he is always called Jarāsandhi in this manuscript.

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each gives birth to half a child. Jarā, a *rākṣasī,* joins them together, and they become one. She gives the baby to the King, who calls him Jarāsandhi. Caṇḍakośika predicts that Jarāsandhi will become a universal sovereign. Bhṛhadratha anoints Jarāsandhi, then retires to the forest with his two wives, where they die (10b-12a; cf. MBh. 2.16-17).

Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Bhīma set out for Magadha in disguise, dressed as *snātaka* Brahmins. They pass many rivers and mountains, then enter the city through the Cetya Mountain. They head for the palace, and are welcomed by Jarāsandhi who is riding his elephant. But he becomes suspicious of their true identities and of their real purpose. Kṛṣṇa then tells him who they are and that they have come to rescue the captured kings. Kṛṣṇa challenges him to fight with one of them (12b-15b; cf. MBh. 2.18-20). Jarāsandhi chooses to fight Bhīma. After fourteen days of fighting, Bhīma succeeds in killing Jarāsandhi. They then go to Mount Bajra, riding Jarāsandhi's chariot, to free the captured kings. After installing Jarāsandhi's son Sahadewa as the new king of Magadha, they return to Indraprastha. After a while Kṛṣṇa returns home to Dwārawatī (15b-17b; cf. MBh. 2.21-22).

After their victorious return from Magadha, Yudhiṣṭhira's four brothers set out to conquer the world for Yudhiṣṭhira, which is a necessary preliminary to the *rājasūya.* With Yudhiṣṭhira's permission Arjuna sets out to the north, conquering among others King Bhagaddata and the kingdom of Kaśmīr (18a-19a and 28a-28b; cf. MBh. 2.23-25); Bhīma marches to the east, conquering many countries; he also visits Cedi, where he is the guest of Śiśupāla (28b-29a; cf. MBh. 2.26-27). Sahadewa conquers many countries in the south, and Nakula many countries in the west. They all return victorious to Indraprastha (19a-21b; cf. MBh. 2.28-29).

While the Pāṇḍawas are gathering to discuss the sacrifice, Kṛṣṇa arrives bringing with him precious gifts for Yudhiṣṭhira. Yudhiṣṭhira expresses his wish to commence the sacrifice. Kṛṣṇa approves. After building the sacrificial site, Sahadewa is sent to invite the Brahmins, sages and kings, and Nakula is sent to invite the Korawas. Many kings from other countries come to pay tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira. Yudhiṣṭhira welcomes the elders of the Korawas and gives each of the Korawas an official function in the ceremony. The ceremony commences, and it lasts for ten days (21b-23a; cf. MBh. 2.30-32).

At the concluding ceremony of the *rājasūya,* Bhīṣma suggests to Yudhiṣṭhira that the first gift of honour be given to Kṛṣṇa as the most distinguished guest. However, Śiśupāla, the King of Cedi, becomes angry and strongly objects to Bhīṣma's choice. He belittles Kṛṣṇa's status and achievements. Yudhiṣṭhira politely asks Śiśupāla to consent. Bhīṣma extols Kṛṣṇa's virtues. Sahadewa challenges any king who is against Kṛṣṇa, but no one dares to accept the challenge (23b-26b; cf. MBh. 2.33-36). Bhīṣma assures Yudhiṣṭhira that Śiśupāla is no match for Kṛṣṇa. This makes Śiśupāla even more furious, and he continues to berate Kṛṣṇa and compares Bhīṣma to a goose that preaches *dharma* but eats the eggs of the birds that protect it. Bhīma is enraged and challenges Śiśupāla to fight, but is restrained by Bhīṣma (26b-28a and 38a-38b; cf. MBh. 2.37-39).

Bhīṣma narrates Śiśupāla's birth and explains the reason why Kṛṣṇa would pardon him a hundred times for his misdeeds before he would kill him. Śiśupāla continues to berate Bhīṣma, then challenges

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Kṛṣṇa to fight. Kṛṣṇa describes Śiśupāla's misdeeds, such as burning down Dwarawatī, stealing the horse at the Horse Sacrifice *(aśwamedhayajña)* performed by Kṛṣṇa's father, and proposing marriage to Rukminī. Śiśupāla ridicules him, so finally Kṛṣṇa cuts off Śiśupāla's head with his discus *Sudarśana-cakra.* Then all the kings pay homage to Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira installs Śiśupāla's son as the king of Cedi. After the completion of the *rājasūya* all the guests take leave of Yudhiṣṭhira to return to their own countries. Only Duryodhana and Śakuni remain in Indraprastha (38b-39a and 29a–32a; cf. MBh. 2.40-42).

Duryodhana and Śakuni inspect the hall, and they suffer some embarrassment. For instance, Duryodhana mistakes a crystal floor for water, so he raises his garment, so as not to get wet; but later he falls into a pond with all his clothes on as he thinks that it is a crystal floor. He makes some other mistakes and is jeered by the Pāṇḍawas and their servants. Feeling humiliated and resentful, Duryodhana returns to Hāstinapura. Filled with envy of the Pāṇḍawa's wealth, Duryodhana becomes very despondent. Śakuni suggests that Yudhiṣṭhira, who loves gambling, be invited to Hāstinapura for a game of dice. Śakuni, an expert gambler, will play against him. Duryodhana agrees with Śakuni's suggestion, and both approach Dhṛtarāṣṭra for approval (32b-36b, 38a and 48b-49a; cf. MBh. 2. 43-45).

[*Adhyāya* 46-49 are lacking in the Sabhāparwa.][13]

Dhṛtarāṣṭra advises Duryodhana that one should not covet other people's property. Dhṛtarāṣṭra wishes to consult Widura, but is opposed by Duryodhana. In the end Dhṛtarāṣṭra gives in. Duryodhana is delighted. Dhṛtarāṣṭra orders a *sabhā* be built and sends Widura to invite the Pāṇḍawas. Widura goes to Indraprastha and conveys the invitation to a game of dice in Hāstina. Yudhiṣṭhira reluctantly accepts the invitation. Yudhiṣṭhira, accompanied by his brothers and Dropadī, set out for Hāstina and are welcomed by Dhṛtarāṣṭra (36a; 37a; 49a-49b and 39a-40a; cf. MBh. 2.50-52).

In the morning, Śakuni, who will play for Duryodhana, challenges Yudhiṣṭhira to play, and Yudhiṣṭhira accepts. So the game begins, witnessed by the elders of the Korawas. The stakes are decided upon, and again and again they are won by Śakuni. Yudhiṣṭhira loses all his possessions (40a-41b; cf. MBh 2.53-54). Widura interrupts the game and admonishes Duryodhana. Duryodhana accuses Widura of partiality towards the Pāṇḍawas (42a-42b and 53a-53b; cf. MBh. 2.55-57). The play is renewed. After he loses all his material possessions, Yudhiṣṭhira stakes his four brothers, one by one, and he loses them all. So he stakes his own person and also loses. Then, finally he stakes Dropadī and loses her too. Yudhiṣṭhira is in tears. The whole *sabhā* also weeps, but Duryodhana is

[13] On these *adhyāya* Edgerton says: "In 2.46.6 Vaiśampāyana resumes the tale. Dhṛtarāṣṭra 'having learned Vidura's opinion'... privately advises Duryodhana against the match, which he has already ordered in adhy. 45. Then in a long speech covering the rest of adhy. 46, and the whole of adhy. 47, 48, and 49, Duryodhana tells in much greater detail of the glories of the *rājasūya,* and this time also of the personal humiliations which he suffered" (Edgerton 1944:xxxii). So they were probably deliberately omitted by the author, as they were only repetitions of what had been previously narrated.

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overjoyed (44b-45a; cf. MBh. 2.58). [Duryodhana orders Widura to fetch Dropadī, but he refuses (MBh. 59)]. Duryodhana orders a servant to summon Dropadī, but she refuses to come. Instead she asks the servant to enquire of Yudhiṣṭhira whether he staked her after losing his own freedom. The servant puts this question to Yudhiṣṭhira, but the latter is unable to reply. Now Duryodhana sends his brother Duśśāsana to fetch her. Duśśāsana goes and forces her to come to the hall, dragging her by the hair. She protests, saying that she has her period (45a-47a; cf. MBh. 2.60).

Blaming Yudhiṣṭhira for what was happened, Bhīma berates him and threatens to burn him, but Arjuna calms him down. Wikarṇa raises Dropadī's question to Yudhiṣṭhira and argues that she has not been won. Karṇa replies that Dropadī has been won, so he urges Duśśāsana to strip the Pāṇḍawas and Dropadī of their clothes. But when he makes an attempt to strip Dropadī's garment from her, as soon as one garment is removed, another garment replaces it to cover her. Bhīma swears that he will kill Duśśāsana in battle and eat him. Widura again urges the assembly to consider Dropadī's question, by telling the story of Sudhanwan and Wirocana [but the princes remain silent] (47a-48a, 59a-59b and 49b-51a; cf. MBh. 2.61).

Dropadī again asks the question. Duryodhana tells her to ask Yudhiṣṭhira whether or not she has become a slave [but Yudhiṣṭhira remains silent]. Then Karṇa says that as Yudhiṣṭhira has been defeated, Duryodhana is entitled to do anything he likes with Dropadī. Smiling derisively, Duryodhana bares his left thigh, showing it to Dropadī. Enraged by the insult, Bhīma swears that he will break Duryodhana's thigh with his club *Lohita* and place his foot on his head. There appear ominous omens, such as wild dogs howling and crows vomiting pus, which frighten the Korawas. Dhṛstarāṣṭra approaches Dropadī and gives her a boon. First she chooses Yudhiṣṭhira's freedom, and then when she is given a second boon, she chooses the release of the other Pāṇḍawas. When she is offered another, she refuses, saying that it would be too greedy to accept it. Yudhiṣṭhira approaches Dhṛtarāṣṭra and, being still worried about the ominous omens, Dhṛtarāṣṭra asks Yudhiṣṭhira to forget the misdeeds of Duryodhana. The Pāṇḍawas then return to Indraprastha (51b-52b, 43a-44a and 54a-55b; cf. MBh. 2.62-2.65).

When Duryodhana learns that the Pāṇḍawas have left for Indraparastha, he becomes worried, so he urges Dhṛtarāṣṭra to call Yudhiṣṭhira back to Hāstina for the second game of dice. He proposes that the stake will be twelve years of living in the forest for the party that loses and after that one year of living in Bhāratawarṣa in disguise. If they are not discovered during this year, they will be allowed to return to their kingdom; but if they are found they have to go to the forest again for another twelve years. Despite the objection of Gāndhārī and all the Korawa elders, Dhṛtarāṣṭra agrees to Duryodhana's request. So a messenger is sent to recall Yudhiṣṭhira. He accepts the invitation, and returns to Hāstina with his brothers and Dropadī. Śakuni challenges Yudhiṣṭhira to resume the dice game with the stake as proposed by Duryodhana. Yudhiṣṭhira accepts the challenge, and again he loses the wager (55b-57b; cf. MBh. 2.66-67).

Having been defeated, the Pāṇḍawas put on bark-cloth and are ready to live in the forest. Led by Duryodhana, who remembers well when he was ridiculed by the Pāṇḍawas after the *rājasūya,* the Korawas jeer and ridicule them. Angered by the insult, Bhīma again swears that he will kill

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Duśśāsana and Duryodhana in the battlefield, Arjuna will kill Karṇa, Sahadewa will kill Śakuni and Nakula will accompany Dropadī to wander around Gajahwaya after killing all the Korawas. Widura advises that Kuntī should remain behind to stay at his house and that *bhagawān* Dhomya accompany them to the forest. Meanwhile Kuntī arrives from Indraprastha, accompanied by Dhomya, to farewell her sons and Dropadī (58a-58b and 60a-60b; cf. MBh. 2.68-70).[14] [After a lengthy lamentation by Kuntī, the Pāṇḍawas depart. Widura describes to Dhṛtarāṣṭra the departure of the Pāṇḍawas and the evil omens that appear. Nārada, Droṇa and Sañjaya all predict the downfall of the Korawas].

The Old Javanese Sabhāparwa in Bali?[15]

As mentioned above, the only extant manuscript of the Sabhāparwa came from Central Java. Nonetheless, considering that the great majority of literary works from Ancient Java, including the parwa, have come down to us via Bali and Lombok, the possibility that there are manuscripts of the Sabhāparwa somewhere in Bali and Lombok waiting to be discovered should not be discounted altogether. In fact, based on the discovery of a *parikan* poem called Sabhāparwa (the manuscript of which was acquired by Kirtya in 1948), Hooykaas (1965:38) was even "convinced that there might be a possibility of discovering *Sabhā-Parva* in Bali — and much more, *parva* and not *-parva.*" [*sic*].

A few years after writing the above article, Hooykaas (1979:351) resumed his "pre-war project of transliteration" of Balinese manuscripts. In this work he was assisted by his "invaluable friend and host I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka" — hence this Balinese Manuscript Project is often referred to as Hooykaas-Ketut Sangka (abbreviated to HKS) project. According to Creese (1999:62), till 1999, 6475 individual manuscripts from all over Bali have been transliterated, covering all kinds of genres in Old Javanese, Middle Javanese and Balinese.[16] Hooykaas' expectation of discovering new manuscripts of the Sabhāparwa, however, remains unfulfilled. The only Sabhāparwa manuscript listed in the HKS collection, namely HKS 2383, is a copy of the Kirtya manuscript no. 2389, which, as we mentioned before, is a copy of the National Library manuscript Br 600.[17]

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[14] The manuscript ends abruptly at the end of p. 60b, which means that the missing leaves must have been part of the manuscript L 92 rather than that of its exemplar. The missing *adhyāya* (MBh 2.70-72) consists of about 107 *śloka*. So, depending on whether it had a lengthy epilogue or a short one, two or perhaps three leaves of L 92 may have been lost.

[15] I am indebted to Professor Helen Creese of the University of Queensland who has helped me in finding the bibliographical sources and the HKS manuscripts needed to write this part of the paper.

[16] Copies of the transliterations were sent to several libraries around the world, and the University of Sydney received them regularly from March 1983 to June 1992. This Sydney collection is now housed at the Menzies Library of the Australian National University in Canberra. All the manuscripts have been systematically arranged by Helen Creese, and can be accessed on the Website: http://anulib.anu.edu.au/epubs/bali/. For the present study I have made use of the manuscripts from this collection.

[17] This is evident from a note occurring on the first page of HKS 2383 which says: *Turunan buku druwen: Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, nomer 2389. Pĕcak buku saking Museum Pusat Jakarta. Tik tanggal 17-11-1977, antuk I.K. Windia.*

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Although this manuscript had been kept in the Kirtya Library since 1952, apparently it failed to attract the attention of the Balinese. But even if there were some who were interested in it, they must have been discouraged by the fact that the text was very corrupt and mostly incomprehensible. So, to fill the need for the narrative of the Sabhāparwa, some Balinese scholars began to look to the place of its ultimate origin, India. And here, Professor Hooykaas, whose role in the setting up of the Balinese Manuscript Project had been crucial in discovering and cataloguing new manuscripts, also played a significant role. He gave a set of Ganguli's English translation of the Mahābhārata[18] to I G.Ng. Ketut Sangka.[19] As I G. Ketut Anom acknowledges, it was at Ketut Sangka's suggestion that he made an Indonesian rendering of the Sabhāparwa based on Ganguli's translation in 1956 (Anom 1974:1). Sangka himself also translated the Udyogaparwa in 1968 (1975) and the *Wanaparwa* in 1974. Remarkably, all these 'translations' have the characteristics of a parwa. At some places we find a word for word translation, but in general we have only abbreviated paraphrases of the English translation. As Sangka (1974:1) explains in the preface of his translation of the *Wanaparwa*, he did this on purpose, "in order that they are not boring" *(supaya tidak membosankan)*, or "because the omissions are not important" *(karena ... hal itu tidak penting)*.

We do not know when Hooykaas presented Ganguli's translation to Sangka nor whether, Sangka's set was the only one available in Bali. But there is no doubt that its introduction in Modern Bali has given impetus to the writing of a new kind of *"parwa"* — either in Indonesian or in Modern Balinese *(satua)* — which then may become new sources for new kakawin. Thus in Creese's inventory of Balinese kakawin, we find a new kakawin under the title of Sabhāparwa, which, according to A.A. Ketut Agung, was written in 1966 (Creese 1999:86). Since in one of the colophons of the manuscripts this kakawin is called *Sabhā*,[20] to avoid a possible confusion with the parwa of the same name, it may be better to name this work as *kakawin Sabhā*.

After examining the three manuscripts of this kakawin which were available to me, I found that they represented two different versions. To distinguish one from the other, we shall call these two versions as *Sabhā* A, which is represented by the HKS Bundle 13/8 and Catra's manuscript, and *Sabhā* B, represented by HKS 5117. The main difference lies in their narrative contents. The Sabhā A covers only the first part of the narrative of the Sabhāparwa, namely from the building of the hall up to the death of Jarasandha (MBh.2.1-2.19), whereas Sabhā B covers all the main episodes of the Sabhāparwa.

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[18] The translation is often attributed to Pratap Chandra Roy, but he was actually the editor, and the translator was Kisari Mohan Ganguli (see Ganguli 1981:v-vi).

[19] Thus Sangka says in the Preface to his translation of the Udyoga Parwa (dated February, 1968): *"Buku ini tidak mungkin dapat kami kerjakan tanpa bantuan Prof. Dr. C. Hooykaas yang sangat baik hati memberikan serangkaian Mahābhārata terjemahan P.C.Roy kepada kami."* (Sangka 1975:i).

[20] Under this kakawin Creese lists three manuscripts: HKS Bundle 13/8 (=LOr 13.389), HKS 5117 (=LOr 21.262) and HKS 5891 (=LOr 24.042) (Creese 1999:86). HKS 5891, is not available at the Menzies Library, but I have another copy of transliteration which I obtained from Mr I Dewa Gede Catra of Karangasem in 1999. It is in the colophon of Catra's manuscript that the title Sabhā occurs. It says *"Ina kakawin Sabhā puniki wit saking Puri Madhura Amlāpūra..."*. (The original manuscript of this *kakawin Sabhā* came from the Puri Mādhura, Amlāpūra).

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Apart from these two versions of the Sabhā kakawin, the HKS project also lists manuscripts of Sabhāparwa in the Balinese language, such as *parikan* (HKS 1246) and *satua* (HKS 2142 and HKS 3825). After examining all these kakawin, parikan and satua manuscripts I found that, as expected, none of them originate from the Old Javanese Sabhāparwa, but from Ganguli's translation, either directly, or indirectly through Anom's translations or other renderings.

Conclusion

Thus, while we should not altogether exclude the possibility that the manuscript of the Old Javanese Sabhāparwa could one day turn up in Bali — after all, according to D.J. Stuart-Fox (1992:9) there are as many as 50,000 manuscripts remaining in private collections in Bali — the result of the Balinese Manuscript Project so far has confirmed that the manuscript L 92 is indeed unique. And for this reason alone I agree with Kuntara Wiryamartana and Van der Molen (2001:53) that "this manuscript deserves our attention". It is my hope that this paper would encourage others to have a closer look at this parwa — the only extant parwa that so far has not been published.

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Javanese manuscripts of the *Tattvajñāna*

Andrea Acri

It is only thanks to the efforts of the International Academy of Indian Culture that we can access in printed form several important Śaiva sources from pre-Islamic Indonesia.[1] I therefore take great pleasure in dedicating this paper to Professor Lokesh Chandra, director of the Academy, whose multifaceted scholarship constitutes a beacon in Sanskrit and Old Javanese studies.[2]

The *Tattvajñāna* is an Old Javanese treatise, consisting of fifty short prose chapters, on Śaiva philosophy, cosmology and yoga. The text, of uncertain date, belongs to the category of Śaiva scriptures called *Tutur*s or *Tattva*s,[3] which, like the vast majority of Old Javanese texts, have mostly survived on palm-leaf manuscripts from the island of Bali. An annotated edition of the *Tattvajñāna*, based on five Balinese manuscripts and provided with a translation in Hindi, was published by Sudarshana Devi (1962) under the auspices of the International Academy of Indian Culture.

This contribution is intended to add new elements to the work of Sudarshana Devi by making known the existence of two previously unidentified manuscripts of the *Tattvajñāna*, the first from the *kabuyutan* Ciburuy in West Java and the second from the Central Javanese Merapi-Merbabu collection, now kept at the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta.

This discovery is not as trivial as it may appear. Given the rarity of Old Javanese manuscripts from Java, the very existence of a tradition of Śaiva treatises preserved in West and Central Javanese manuscripts is in itself an interesting fact. As documented by the *Dharma Pātañjala*, an important Old Javanese Śaiva speculative treatise transmitted through a 15th-century manuscript of Central Javanese origin,[4] this tradition is clearly related to the Balinese one and shares the same substantial number of parallels with the Sanskrit Śaiva literature from South Asia. Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge, no manuscript preserving a text belonging to the *Tutur* or *Tattva* class that is

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[1] These include the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (Sudarshana Devi 1957), *Gaṇapatitattva* (Sudarshana Devi 1958), *Tattvajñāna* and *Mahājñāna* (Sudarshana Devi 1962), *Vratiśāsana* (Sharada Rani 1961), *Bhuvanasaṁkṣepa* (Sudarshana Devi Singhal 1997), the Śaiva version of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (Lokesh Chandra 1997).

[2] I had the opportunity to meet Prof. Lokesh Chandra during my short visit to the Academy in September 2008, when he engaged me in a memorable and thought-provoking conversation touching upon various aspects of the cultural exchange between ancient India and Indonesia. I am grateful to Prof. Lokesh Chandra for having kindly presented me with some out of print publications by the Academy and for having offered his support to my ongoing research on Śaivism in the Archipelago.

[3] A survey of the *Tutur* literature may be found in Acri (2006).

[4] That is, reportedly belonging to the Merapi-Merbabu collection despite using a script that is often associated with West Java (see Pigeaud 1975:111–112). An edition and English translation of the *Dharma Pātañjala* is being prepared by the present author as a part of his PhD dissertation to be defended at Leiden University.

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already known from Balinese *lontar*s has ever been identified in Java — unlike several Old Javanese works belonging to other genres, such as *Kakavin*s. The discovery of two manuscripts containing related Javanese versions of the *Tattvajñāna* strengthens the likelihood, already assumed by earlier generations of Old Javanese scholars and — not less important — by the Balinese themselves, that a significant part of the Śaiva literature that has survived on Bali may be of Javanese provenance. This, of course, does not in any way diminish the originality and antiquity of the Balinese literary culture. What is important, in my opinion, is to study the *Tutur* and *Tattva* literature not as a purely 'indigenous' and 'embedded' Balinese product, but rather as a phenomenon in the cultural context of the 'Sanskrit Cosmopolis', shaped by a complex network of translocal contacts.

The discovery

In June 2008 I had the opportunity to inspect the collection of Ciburuy, a remote hillside-village in the Garut Regency, West Java.[5] The *kabuyutan* Ciburuy is regarded as the only ancient scriptorium to have survived in Java. No less than twenty-six palm-leaf manuscripts, preserving texts in both Old Sundanese and Old Javanese, are still to be found in a traditional Sundanese wooden hut, stored inside three large wooden boxes. My attention focused on the four *kropak*s in the so-called *peti dua* (box two), each one of which contained one *nipah* manuscript[6] written with black ink in a variety of Old (West) Javanese 'quadratic' script. As I went through the lines of the two ancient-looking and worn-out leaves constituting what has survived of the manuscript stored in *kropak* no. 23, I became aware that the Old Javanese text sounded familiar to me. A search in my database confirmed that the text on both leaves was remarkably similar to the *Tattvajñāna*, therefore suggesting that the complete manuscript must have contained a version of that text. This discovery encouraged me to search further Indonesian manuscript collections, in the hope that other Javanese manuscripts of the text could be identified.

My hopes were soon fulfilled when, during a visit to the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta, I went through the general catalogue (Behrend 1998) and noticed a manuscript bearing the title *Suluk Tattvajñāna* (ms. 1L 214:342), apparently originating from the Central Javanese Merapi-Merbabu collection.[7] The *Katalog Naskah Merapi-Merbabu* (Setyawati, Wiryamartana and van der Molen 2002:155) confirmed the provenance of the manuscript, listing it under the title *Saṅ Hyaṅ Tattvajñāṇa* or *Saṅ Hyaṅ Prayogasandhi*[8] (ms. 214 [I]). The *Katalog* gives the relevant codicological details of the *lontar*, such as its date (17th century) and place of composition (Gunung

[5] I thank Undang Darsa from the University of Padjadjaran for having guided me to the site in various occasions since 2007, and for sharing with me his expertise on Old Sundanese manuscripts. A project involving the digital photography of all the manuscripts kept in Ciburuy was carried out by Mr. Darsa and myself in 2009, under the sponsorship of the Endangered Archives Programme of the British Library/Arcadia Foundation.

[6] That is, written on leaves of thatch palm (*Nypa fructicans*) and not *lontar* (i.e. Palmyra palm, *Borassus flabellifer*).

[7] On this collection, see van der Molen and Wiryamartana (2002); Wiryamartana (1993).

[8] As the manuscript's colophon reads, and not *Saṅ Hyaṅ Pramogasandhi*, as mistakenly reported in the catalogue.

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Mandaragĕni), but discloses nothing about the identity of the text. Inspecting the manuscript, written in the Merapi-Merbabu variety of *Buda* script, I soon realized that it transmitted another version of the edited *Tattvajñāna*.

Tattvajñāna 10.14-12.10 and 17.9-18.4

In the remainder of this paper I am going to present a transliteration of the section of text that, following the numeration implemented in the edition, goes from line 14 of Chapter 10 throughout line 10 of Chapter 12, and from line 9 of Chapter 17 throughout line 4 of Chapter 18. Those sections encompass the portion of text transmitted by the fragmentary manuscript from Ciburuy. The texts transmitted by the three sources are presented in parallel, to make it easy for the reader to appreciate the similarities and discrepancies among the versions from word to word.[9]

The left column presents the text constituted from the Ciburuy (C) manuscript (*peti* 2 *kropak* 23), consisting of two leaves (folios) whose sides have been arbitrarily numbered 1a/1b and 2a/2b.[10] A portion of the left side of folio 1, approximately corresponding to between one-sixth and one-seventh of the total length of the leaf, is missing because of deterioration. As a result, the damage incurred has created a lacuna that amounts to one-third of the written left portion of the folio. Another lacuna cuts in half the bottom-right line of text in folio 1a and the upper-right line of text in folio 1b for approximately a half of the length of the right portion of written text. Leaf 2 is generally complete apart from a small portion of leaf that has gone missing, which has caused the loss of the upper part of a sequence of seven *akṣara*s in the upper-right line of folio 2b. Any lacunae in the text I have marked with a series of dots ..., except when I felt that the missing portion of text could be reconstructed with a high degree of probability through the comparison with the other versions of the text; the resulting reconstructed portions I have enclosed within angle brackets < >. Round brackets ( ) enclose an *akṣara* or a sequence of *akṣara*s that is not legible in its entirety as a result of either physical damage to the manuscript or discoloration of the ink, but that I felt confident to reconstruct on the basis of what is still legible.

The middle column presents the text transliterated from the Merapi-Merbabu (MM) manuscript (PNRI 1 L 214 [1]), which follows the numeration using roman ciphers written in pencil on each folio (probably by an early curator of the National Library collection). It thus includes folio nos. 11 through 13, and folio no. 24, all complete and in good state of preservation.

The right column presents the text of the edition as constituted from the Balinese (B) manuscripts Ka (coll. Sarasvatī Vihāra, uncatalogued), Kha (coll. Sarasvatī Vihāra, copy of Kirtya IIIb 490,

[9] In doing so I have followed the arrangement used by van der Molen (1983) to present the three related prose versions of the Buddhist *Kuñjarakarṇa*, two from Merapi-Merbabu *lontar*s and one from a West Javanese *nipah*.

[10] Unfortunately, the Javanese ciphers appearing on the left margin of folio 2a are damaged, but they can be interpreted with a high degree of certainty as representing the number 23 (the correspondence between the folio number and the number of the *kropak* is merely coincidental). Since the original number of folio 1, which could have been either 1X or 2Y (where X = 5–9 and Y = < 3), cannot be arrived at with any certainty, I have decided to use a purely conventional system of numeration.

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uncatalogued), Ga (Leiden Cod. Or. 4466), Gha (Leiden Cod. Or. 3930-2) and Ṅa (Kirtya IIIb 490). Ṭhe text presented here has been transliterated into Roman script from Balinese script, as printed in the edition (p. 19-25 and 42-45).

The spelling of all the versions has not been standardized; *paṅkon*s, line-fillers and deleted *akṣara*s have not been reproduced. The start of a new folio in the Javanese versions has been indicated by the number of the respective folio within square brackets [ ]. Three dots within square brackets [...] indicate that a portion of text has been omitted (e.g. after line 10 of section 12, which corresponds to the end of the text transmitted by C). Apart from the reconstructions of the lacunae as detailed above, no corrections or emendations to the text have been made.

In transliterating the three distinct varieties of Old Javanese script I adhere to widely accepted norms for transliterating Indic writing systems. I thus deviate from the standards implemented thus far in editions of Old Javanese texts in the following respects: ṁ (and not ṅ or ŋ) represents the *anusvāra* (*cĕcak*); ṅ (and not ŋ or ng) represents the velar nasal; ḥ renders the *visarga*, which is thus kept distinct from the *akṣara* h; v renders the fourth semivowel of the Sanskrit syllabary, rather than w; the graphemes ṛ and ḷ have been retained and distinguished from rĕ and lĕ.

C (1a–1b)	MM (11–13)	B (Ch. 10.14–12.10)
	nihan yukti nikaṁ yan	nahan yukti nikaṁ
	pandādi manusa ika saṁ	maṅdadi mānuṣa / ika saṁ
	hyaṁṅ atma /	hyaṅ ātmā /
...lā / hagĕṁ hirikaṁ citā /		
yeka nimita ni ātma paṁdadi		
tiyyak //		
nahan taṁ lakṣaṇa nika	maṁkana vasana nikaṁ	maṅkana lakṣaṇa nikaṁ
triguṇa rumakĕt riṅ a<tmā>	triguṇa rumakĕt irikaṁ cita	triguṇa rumakĕt irikaṁ citta /
		ri pamaṅguḥ niṁ triguṇa
	lavan	lavan citta /
...<trigu>ṇā / mtu ta buddhi /	tigunāmtu taṁ bhuddhi	mtu taṁ buddhi /
apa ta lakṣananya /		lakaṣaṇa niṁ buddhi /
kādi tan vruḥ ikaṁ	kadi tān pahidhĕp ikaṁ	buddhi tan pahiḍĕp / ikaṁ
būddhi / ndan vruḥ	bhuddhi / ndan āhadhĕp ta	buddhi ndan ahiḍĕp
ya / kadi tan	ya / kadi tan	ya / kadi tan
pāṁhidhĕpīkiṁ būddhi,	brah ikaṁ bhuddhi /	vruḥ ikaṁ buddhi /
ndhan maṁhĕ...	ndan vruḥ ta ya /	ndan vruḥ ya /
...<kadi ta>n pācetanā ikaṁ	kadi tan pacetana ta ya /	kadi tan pacetanekaṁ
buddhi / ndhan ācetana yā		buddhi / ndan cetana ya /
saṁsepanya /	saṁsepanya ḷṅĕṁḷṅĕṁ	saṁkṣepanya / lṅĕlṅĕ
stiti mijĕṁ ikaṁ buddhi /	hastiti humidĕṁ /	sthita humidĕṅ
	ḷmĕr maṅĕt	ḷmĕṁ / meṅĕt

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vruḥ riṁ haḷahayu /	riṁṅ halahayu jughekaṁ bhuddhi / hapan sinaṅguḥ bhuddhi ṅaranya	riṁ halahayu jugekaṁ buddhi / apa kari sinaṅguḥ buddhi ṅaranya / e nihan piḥ /
	gaṇal iṁ triṁguṇa kneṁ cetana de ni cita / yeka sināṅguḥ bhudi ṅaranya /	gaṇal niṁ triguṇa / kacetana de niṅ citta / yeka sinaṅguḥ buddhi ṅaranya /
saṅka riṁ buddhi mtu <taṅ aheṁkara / >	sakara bhudi mtu taṅ aheṁkara / ahakara garanya ganal ni cita ya ta sinaṅguḥ cetana mañetana /	saṅka niṁ buddhi / mtu taṅ ahaṅkāra / ahaṅkāra ṅaranya gaṇal niṁ citta / ya ta sinaṅguḥ cetana mañetana ṅaranya /
	hapa nikaṁ cetana saṁsaya gaṇal sobhavanya / ya ta matanyan alvo prabheda niṁ tutur / haganal alit sobhavanya //	apa dumeḥ yan maṅkana / apa nikaṁ cetana saṁśaya gaṇal svabhāvanya / ya ta mataṁnyan akveḥ prabheda niṁ tutur / agaṇal alit svabhava niṁ tutur // 10 //
	nihan kramanya ḳeṅtakna / bhaṭāra mahulun makacetana saṁ hyaṁṅ atma /	nihan kramanya keṅětakna / bhaṭāra mahulun makacetana saṁ hyaṁ ātmā / saṁ hyaṁ ātmā
	makaceta hirikaṁ cita /	makacetana ikaṁ citta / ika citta makacetana
	ikaṅ ahaṁkara maka[12]ceta-nanya hikaṁ cita /	
	ikaṅ ahaṁkara ya ta hinavesaṁ de niṁ kriyasakti bhaṭāra dipvamanaḥ / yeja sinaṅguḥ hurip niṅ urip ṅaran i kriyasakti bhaṭāra dipramaṇa pva pinakahurip ni akara / ikaṁṅ ahaṁkāra	ikaṅ ahaṅkāra / ya ta inaveśa de niṁ kriyāśakti bhaṭāra mapramāṇa / ya ta sinaṅguḥ hurip ni hurip ṅaranya kṛiyāśakti bhaṭāra pramāṇa / mvaṁ pinakahurip niṅ ahaṅkāra /

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	pinakahurip ni buddhi / ya	pinakahurip niṁ buddhi / ya
	ta matanyan pramaṇa	ta mataṁnyan pramāṇa
	ṅarana ṅhakara /	ṅaranika ahaṅkāra vaneḥ /
	apan maṅaku mamasto ni	apan maṅku mamastuni riṁ
	hana lavan tan ana /	hana lavan tan hana /
	maḷkasakĕn kriyakaryya	maṁlakasakĕn kāryya
	halahayu guṇa niṅ	halahayu / juga guṇa nikaṅ
	ahaṅkara / maṅaka	ahaṅkāra mvaṁ maṅaku
	druvya liṁnya /	sarvvadṛbya / liṁnya /
	druveṁku bhayuṁku	dṛbyaṅku / bayuṅku /
	hidhĕpku śariraṅku /	śabdaṅku / iḍĕpku śarīraṅku /
	maṅkana liṁṅ	maṅkana liṁ nikaṅ
	ahaṁkāra / hika taṁṅ	ahaṅkāra / ikaṅ
	ahaṁkara lavan buddhi / ya	ahaṅkāra lavan buddhi ya
	ta prumaṇa viseśa	pramāṇa viśeṣa
	kejaranya juga /	ṅaranya /
	hapan dumeḥh ika	apa dumeḥ ikaṅ ahaṅkāra
	bhuddhi sĕṅguhĕn	lavan buddhi sinaṅguḥ
	viśeṣa /	viśeṣa /
	nihan priḥ dhenya stiti /	ri denya sthiti
	humidĕṁ tan pholaḥ cala /	humiḍĕṅ tan polaḥ /
	tuhun tuturmakra ḷmĕḥ	tuhun tuturmmātra lmĕṁ
	meṅĕt riṁ halahayu	meṅĕt riṁ halahayu /
	jugeṁkaṁ budi / tuhun	jugekaṁ buddhi / tuhun
	pinakapāṁrata juga de	pinakaparanti jugeka hananya
	niṅ ahaṁkāra hananya /	de niṅ ahaṁkāra
<tiga> prabedanya /	tiga prabhedha	tri bhedanya /
	niṅ ahakara mtu sakariṁ	
	bhuddhi	
	lvirnya //	lvirnya /
si vekratā / si tejasa /	si vekruta si tejasa	si vaikṛta / si taijasa /
si butadiṁ //	śi bhatadhi /	si bhūtādi /
nihan taṁṅ ahĕṁkara		nahan ya ahaṅkāra //
tiga prabedanya /		
	ahaṁ[13]kara si vekṛta	ahaṅkāra si vaikṛta yeka
	bhudi sato ahaṁkara sa	buddhi sattva / ahaṅkāra si
	tejasa bhudi rajaḥ /	taijasa yeka buddhi rajaḥ /
	ahaṁkara si bhutadi	ahaṅkāra si bhūtādi

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	bhudhi tamaḥ /	yeka buddhi tamaḥ // 11 //
	gavenyaka yeki vuvusĕn //	gavenya yeki vuvusĕn /
ikaṁṅ ahĕṅ<k>ara		ahaṅkāra
si vekrata, <y>e[1b]<ka	si vekṛta yeka	si vaikṛta / yeka
magave mana>ḥ lavan	magave manah lavan	magave manaḥ / mvaṁ
dasendriya / lv(ir)nya /	dasendriya lvir /	daśendriya / lvirnya /
srote / tvak / cākṣuḥ / graṇa	śote tvak cakṣuḥ	cakṣu / śrotra / ghrāṇa /
/ vak / jihva /	jivva ghraṇa /	jihvā / tvak /
	hikaṁ sinaṅguḥ	nahan taṁ sinaṅgaḥ
	pañcendriya ṅaranya /	pañcendriya ṅaranya /
pani / payu / pasta / (padā	vak pāni payva padha	vāk / pāṇi / pāda / upastha
	pasta / hika sinaṅguḥ	pāyu / yeka sinaṅgaḥ
	pañcakamendriya	pañcakarmendriya
	ṅaranya / paminḍa niṁ	ṅaranya / papiṇḍa nikaṁ
	pacendriya /	pañcendriya /
	lavan pacakamendriya /	lavan pañcakarmmendriya /
nahan ta dasen)dr<iya>...	ya ta sinaṅguh dhasendriya	yeka sinaṅgaḥ daśendriya
	ṅaranya	ṅaranya /
		kasavlas manaḥ /
	gave nikaṁṅ ahaṁkara si	nahan gave nikaṁ si vaikṛta
	tejasaṅ ahaṁkara //	ahaṅkāra //
... <a>hĕṁṅkara si butadi /	kuṇnaṁ si bhutadhi	kunaṅ ikaṅ ahaṅkāra si
yekā saṅka niṁ	yeka magave	bhūtādi / yekāgave
pañcatanmantrā /	pañcatanmantra /	pañcatanmātra /
lvi(r)nya / sabdatanmantrā /	lvirnya // śabdhatanmantra /	lvirnya / śabdatanmātra /
sparsa / tanmantrā /	saparsatanmantra /	sparśśatanmātra /
rupatanmantrā /	rupatanmantra /	rūpatanmātra /
rasatanmantrā /	rasatanmantra	rasatanmātra /
ga<ndatanmantrā /	gandatanmantra //	gandhatanmātra //
naha>n taṁ pañcatanmantrā		
ṅaranya (/)		
sabdatanmantra ṅaranya /	śabdatanmantra ṅaranya	śabdatanmātra ṅaranya /
tutupi karnanta kaliḥ / hanā	tutupi karṇnanta kaliḥ / hana	tutupi taliṅanta kaliḥ /
sabda taṛṅĕ / halit	ta sabdha kaṛṅö halit /	hana śabda kaṛṅö /
lit niṁkaṁ sabdā / ye<ka	lit nika sabhdha / yeka	lit nikaṁ śabda / yeka
sabdanmantrā	sabhdhatanmantra	śabdatanmatrā
ṅara>nya // spārsatanmantrā	ṅaranya // saparsatanmantra	ṅaranya // sparśśatanmātra
ṅaranya /	ṅaranya /	ṅaranya /

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ana bayu mula dras /	hana ya bhayu mala dras	hana vāyu madṛs /
	bharat prāhara kunaṁ /	barat prahāra kunaṁ /
maṛn pvā kaṁ bayu, ana ta	maṛn yokaṁ bhayu hana ta	maṛn pvekaṅ vāyu /
sesanya lit su(b)i rumsĕpā	śesa halit asumilir rumĕsĕp	lit nikaṁ sumilir umĕsĕp
riṁ sarira, li	iṁ śarira / lit nikaṁ bhayu	iṁ pakulit /
	yeka saparsatanmantra	yeka sparśśatanmātra
	ṅaranya // [...]	ṅaranya // [...] // 12 //
C (2ab–2b)	MM (23)	B (Ch. 17.9–18.4)
	detya yoni	daitya yoni
niṃ rajaḥ yan maṁkanā //	ni rajaḥ yan maṁkana //	niṁ rajaḥ yan maṅkana //
yapvan	yapvan	
hanā budī rajaḥ / vineḥ	hana buddhi rajaḥ vineḥ	hana buddhi rajaḥ / vineḥ
sabda tan yogya /	śabda tan yogya	śabda tan yogya /
yekā kroddha kaṅaṅanā /	kababan	kabaṅan
kumtĕ sarvvasandi ny	kamti śarīranya	kumtĕr śarīranya /
avaknya /		
vavaṁ haparag /	vavatta sahasa	vavaṅ aparāga /
vak capāla / hasṭa capala /	vaś capala /	vāk capala / hasta capala /
pada capalā / nhĕr matrĕk	pada caphala / nhaṁrik	pāda capala / maṁrik
asiṁhanaṁndhā / mujarakĕk	asiṁanadha munarakĕn	masiṁhanāda / mujarakĕn
saněkasaḥmaṁnakeriya /	saḥ manaka ri ya /	samenakeriya
	tan peritu (u)naṁṁ asiḥ	
	tan panalaṁ	
tan haṅgālaṁ liṅa niṁ	tan pagalĕṁ ri liṁ nira	tan paṁgaḷṁ liṅa niṁ
para / akṣasayoni niṁ	para rakṣasayoni niṁ	para / rākṣasa yoni niṃ
raja yan maṁkaṇa //	rajaḥ yan makana //	rajaḥ yan maṅkana //
nihan taṁtvanya /	nihan tva taṁtonya /	nihan tattvanya
rakṣasā pinakahyaṁ	rakṣasa pinakahyan	rākṣasa pinakahyaṁ
niṁ kadgā /	iy kadga /	niṁ khadga
salvir niṁ sañjatā /		
pinakagamangaman	pinakagamangaman /	gamangaman
saṁ prabū /		saṁprabhu /
kady aṅgān i curiga /	kady aṅgan i curima	
malyalasaṁkā /	malyala sakuḥ /	
salvirra niṁ kadgā /	salir nikaṁ kadgā	salvir niṁ khadga
pinakapaṅalap urip /	pinakapaṅalap urip	varttamāna paṅalap hurip
rakṣasa pinakadevanya //	rakṣasa devatanya //	rākṣasa pinakadevatānya //

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detya pinakahyaṁ niṁ
kadgā /
pinakāgagāman
ṣaṁ vva tani /
kady aṅgan iṁ luke [2b]
kayul / prakul /
salvirra ni kadgā
pinakasadāna niṁ
mamijīlākĕn
karmopajiva /
detya pinakādevanya //
danāva

pinakagamangaman
sa(ṁ) [23v] panditā /
kady aṅgan iṁ pamisva /
katri karayu / patisi /

danavā
pinakadevanya //
nahan tatva niṁ budī rajaḥ /
kaniṣṭa madya motama //

bhuddhi tamaḥ yeki
vuvusĕn /
yapvan hana buddhī tamaḥ /
santosa /
tan harohara ri pinaṅan /
vaṛgā ya deniṁ gaṅan
sakgĕtis / sĕkul sakĕpil tvak
satahapan / paritusti ya
denikā /
butayakṣa yoni
niṁ tamaḥ yan maṁkaṇa /
deṣanya mvaṁgviṁ vano /
pinakahyaṁ niṁ

detya hyaṁ ni
kadga
pinakagamangaman
yaṃ voṃ tani /
luke
pṛkul pacul kayul /
śalvir ni kadga
pinakasana niṁ
pamijilakĕn /

detya pinakadevatanya //
danava
hyaṃ ni kadga
pinakagamangamaṁ
śapaṇḍita

kris karayul pakisi
śalir niṁ kadga
pinakasadana niṁ mamiso
hrĕs /
dānava
piṇakadevata[24]nya //
nahan ta buddhi rajaḥ
kaniṣṭa mādya hutama /
lirnya //

yapva hana bhuddhi tamaḥ
vineḥ satosa /
tan harohara riṁ pinaṅan /
vaṛg de niṁ sigasalĕl gaṅan
sapuṅgĕl tok
ṣataha parituṣṭa
manaḥnya
de nika bhūtayakṣa yoni
niṁ tamaḥ yan maṁkana /
deśanya muṅgviṁ vano
pinikahyaṁ ni

daitya pinakahyaṁ niṁ
khadga /
pinakagamangaman
vvaṁ tani
kady aṅgan iṁ luke
pṛkul /
salvir niṁ khadga
pinakasādhana niṅ
amijilakĕn
kamopajīva
daitya devatānya //
dānava
pinakahyaṅ niṅ khadga
pinakagamangaman
saṅ viku /
kadyaṅgan iṅ pamiso /
kartrī / karayu /

dānava
devatānya //
nahan taṅ buddhi rajaḥ /
kaniṣṭha madhya mottama
// 17 //
buddhi tamaḥ yeki
vuvusĕn /
hana buddhi tamaḥ /

tan harohara riṅ pinaṅan /
varĕg de niṅ gaṅan
sagtĕs / sgĕ sakpĕl / tvak
satahapan / parituṣṭa
manaḥnya /
de nika / bhūtayakṣa yoni
niṅ tamaḥ yan maṅkana /
deśanya muṅgviṅ no /
pinakahyaṅ niṅ

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sarvvadhātu muṁgv iṁ liṁga ri pratima / li	sarvvadhatu / muṅgv iṁ pujan liṅiṁ pratima kunaṁ // [...]	dhātu muṅgv iṅ liṅga / pratimā / liṅgir pamūjamūjān // [...] // 18 //

Concluding remarks

A preliminary comparison of the texts reproduced above reveals a few interesting facts. The version C 1 deviates considerably from MM and B in that it completely omits the portion of text elaborating on self-identity (*ahaṅkāra*) spanning across Chapters 10 and 11, and also presents a more general and synthetic treatment of the topics. Towards the end of C 1b (= B Chapter 12) the text, before ending abruptly, appears to run closer to the other versions. This is also the case in C 2, which leaves no doubt as to its correspondence with chunks of Chapters 17 and 18 of B. MM and B run mostly in parallel, presenting no significant omissions.

The three versions represent a telling example of contaminated transmission. The agreements follow no discernible pattern, for instances of agreement between C and MM, C and B or MM and B occur throughout the sample. In short, no version can be regarded to be completely unrelated to another.

The aim of this short report is to indicate that the time is ripe for the publication of a new critical edition of the *Tattvajñāna*, based on an extended number of manuscripts and provided with an English translation. Given the characteristics proper to this kind of Old Javanese prose texts, to prepare an edition on the basis of two different transmissions such as the Merapi-Merbabu and Balinese appears to be neither desirable nor methodologically sound;[11] yet, a systematic comparison of those two versions may help to correct possible dubious readings and, what is more important, enlighten us on the dynamics of textual production and transmission in ancient Java and Bali.

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[11] The remarkable difference in wording displayed by such sources as, for example, the prose versions of the *Kuñjarakarṇa* (diplomatically edited by van der Molen 1983), suggests that they underwent a significant amount of 'creative' scribal intervention, which was not limited to additions but involved a more complex activity of textual reinterpretation and rewriting. To methodically merge the different versions of one work sharing the same characteristics, like the *Tattvajñāna*, in the pursuit of an 'urtext' would amount to a falsification. The situation is of course different in the case of Kakavins, where variations are far less significant and can be often weighed against each other on the basis of their metrical correctness.

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Majapahit's Śrī Mahārāja Jayanagara and an Old Javanese temple model of politics

Donald E. Weatherbee

Introduction

Śrī Mahārāja Jayanagara was the second ruler of East Java's Majapahit kingdom, which existed from the end of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth. Its political and cultural influence touched a large swath of maritime Southeast Asia. Majapahit has been described as the largest empire ever to form in Southeast Asia (Miksic 1995:14). The structure of its court (*kraton*) at its mid-fourteenth century grandest was documented by a high-ranking Buddhist official named Prapañca in his *kakawin* (poem in Indian meter) known as the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* ('the kingdom which is ordered according to holy tradition'), completed in 1365 CE. The title Nāgarakṛtāgama was used in a colophon. In the kakawin itself, Prapañca called his poem *Deśawarṇana* ('description of the country') (Zoetmulder 1974:350). The latter title has only recently been used and will not be found in the standard literature so that cited here is the Nāgarakṛtāgama (in abbreviation, Nāg.).[1] A second important textual source is the prose *Pararaton* ('book of the kings'), a mélange of myth, tradition and historical data that can be controlled from other sources (Brandes 1920). It begins with the founding myth of Majapahit's predecessor Singhasāri kraton and ends with an entry dated to 1481 CE.[2] These two texts together with two dated inscriptions, the 1323 "Tuhañaru" copper plates and the 1324 "Blitar I" stone, are the basis of our knowledge of Jayanagara.[3]

These historical remnants give us scarce knowledge of Jayanagara's life and times. He was sandwiched between the drama of Majapahit's founding and his empire-building successors. For reasons that will be detailed below, he appears to have been somewhat of an outlier in Majapahit's dynastic history. As Śrī Mahārāja, Jayanagara , like his Old Javanese counterparts, stood

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[1] Pigeaud (1960-1963) is a massive five-volume study of the Nāgarakṛtāgama and the structure of the court and society. Vol. 1 contains the text in transcription. Vol. 3 has a literal English translation. Robson (1995) is a new and much more fluent translation.

[2] Although the Pararaton in the version preserved was probably compiled in the sixteenth century, the compiler had much older sources at his disposal (Krom 1931:20-25).

[3] The "Tuhañaru" inscription is on ten copper plates inscribed on front and back. The plates were found in Sidoteka in the Mojokerto area of East Java, and the older literature refers to it by that name. The text is transcribed in Brandes (1913:198-204) as *Oud Javaansche Oorkonden* (OJO) LXXXIII. It is dated 13 December 1323 (Damais 1955:81, A-180). The "Blitar I" stone inscription is of unknown provenance. As OJO LXXXII, Brandes (1913:198) transcribed only a few opening words including a Śaka year date he read as 1236 Śaka. Damais (1955:109-110, A-181) transcribed four lines which included the royal title. Damais recovered a 1246 Śaka date and read the full Julian equivalent date of 5 August 1324.

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at the intersection of secular and divine authority in which he embodied both. This was confirmed in rite, ritual, protocol, and political communication. In this contribution honoring Professor Lokesh Chandra, I will consider a particular form of political communication in what I have called the "temple model of politics" and a unique example of it in a 1323 CE inscription issued by Jayanagara.

The temple model of Old Javanese politics

Indic kingship in Indonesia, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, ascribed to the king divine qualities if not divinity itself. In a generic sense they were *deva*s, a non-specific attribution of divinity, indicating that the person so described was a deity (Gonda 1966:24). In the literature and epigraphy of Old Java, the kings and royal families ran through the whole catalogue of divine identifications. The testimonies to the king's divine qualities became increasingly elaborate in later East Javanese courts, expressed in kakawin poets' panegyrics and the *epitheta ornantia* adorning royal decrees. The Śrī Mahārāja was treated as an earthly manifestation of god and the kraton was organized to reify this. The words used to describe a king's enthronement and reign — *adhiṣṭhāna*, *adhiṣṭhita*, *pratiṣṭhita* — have the connotations of a god descending into his image in a temple or the placing of the image in a temple. The regalia and sumptuary regulations of the court set the king apart as a deity. Public audiences were organized with the king as an object of awe-filled homage and devotion (Nāg. 83-84). Political legitimacy — the right to rule — was suffused by the aura of the king's personal divinity.

Political transactions were embedded in formulaic statements and stipulations reflecting the divinity of the ultimate authority. The majority by far of Old Javanese chancery documents were royal grants establishing a *sīma*, a legal status for villages or lands in which taxes and obligations due to secular authority were diverted, for the most part, to various kinds of religious foundations. The style in which such transactions were communicated emphasized the quasi-ritual aspects of the political process. The applicant for the *sīma* worshipfully approached the king as a god to beg for a boon (*manghyang warānugraha*). The king's decision descended *(turun)* to the affected parties in a *praśasti* specifying his most divine royal command (*sang hyang ājñā haji*). Commonly, the *praśasti* was inscribed for permanency in stone and on copper plates. The stone inscription was installed on site amid elaborate and complex social and religious ceremonies, and the copper plates were given into safekeeping by the recipients, then to be brought out to be worshipped at the appropriate times as the divine word of the king.[4]

A fuller illustration of the temple model in Majapahit times was the depiction of the Śrī Mahārāja in the form of an image or statue of a high god erected on a pedestal as represented by his chief minister (*patih*) who, with his officials, administered the affairs of state. Majapahit's founding king Śrī Mahārāja Kṛtarājasa said, in his earliest known royal inscription, that his *patih* "made firm

[4] For the ritual worship (*kapujān*) of the *praśasti* containing the *sang hyang ajña haji, s*ee for example, "Kakurugan" inscription, 1023 CE, plate 6a (Cohen Stuart 1875:13); "Sarwadharma" inscription, 1269 CE, plate 5a (Brandes 1920:192).

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the reign of His Majesty who can be compared to an image of Śiva."[5] In a second inscription, Kṛtarājasa addressed the role of a senior official in the earlier reign of Singhasāri king Jaya Wiṣṇuwardhana, saying that he was "manifestly the pedestal upon which his Majesty, Lord Jaya Śrī Wiṣṇuwardhana who is enshrined on Mt. Mandara, stood firmly like an image of Śiva in the land of Java along with the other islands."[6] This translation of the original text (cited in note 5), differs from Poerbatjaraka's over the meaning of *praṇāla* in the context of the sentence. Poerbatjaraka (1940:47) rendered it as "*the cause in all respects* [de aanleiding tot de in alle opzichten] for the firm rule of His Majesty," whereas I have defined it as the pedestal on which the king, like an image of Śiva, stood. In the narrowest sense, a *praṇāla* is the channel or spout on the pedestal through which drain the lustral fluids poured over the god's image that stands on it. More broadly, it can be used to mean the pedestal itself. In Śiva temples, the *lingga*, the abstraction of the absolute god, was erected on a pedestal called a *yoni*, representing the divine female principle. So-called *lingga-yoni* sets were the most common representation of Śiva in Old Javanese iconography. In the idiom of the Nāgarakṛtāgama the expression was *lingga-praṇāla* (Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:3). That *praṇāla* was not just a synonym for *yoni* is clear from a line in the "Air Asih" (Frankfurt I) inscription (Van Naerssen 1941:39, B, 7-8): *sang hyang prāsāda sthāna ni praṇāla pangadyana sang hyang arccāwiṣṇu pratirūpa*; that is, "the holy tower temple in which a *praṇāla* is placed upon which the divine image of Viṣṇu stands."

We find the same imagery in a mid-fourteenth century inscription, the "Decree Jaya Song," in which *patih*, the famous Gajah Mada, is described as the guardian of the king, serving as the *praṇāla* on which the Śrī Mahārāja, a representation of Śiva, firmly stands, resulting in the welfare of Java to its fullest extent.[7] Similarly, in the Batur copper plates, c.1351, Gajah Mada is *praṇāla* in relationship to the Śrī Mahārāja (Pigeaud 1960-63, I:113): *sākṣāt praṇāla mratisubaddhakĕn pangdiri śrī mahārāja siniwi ring sayawadwīpāntara*, which Pigeaud (1960-63, III:163) translated as "manifestly the *basement* [emphasis added] to consolidate the state of the Illustrious Great King who is obeyed in the whole of Java-land." In the context of the temple model, it might better be read as "manifestly the pedestal making firm the reign of His Majesty, to whom Java and the other islands pay homage." In the Nāgarakṛtāgama 18:2, Majapahit's *patih* is described as the *sang praṇāleng kaḍatwan*, which Pigeaud (1960-63, III:23) translated as "the honored *mediator* of the royal family." Robson (1995:38), in his new translation, gives a more accurate translation: "the pedestal of the

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[5] "Kuḍadu" (Gunung Butak), 1294 CE; Brandes 1920:94, plate 2b): *mratisubaddhakĕn pangaděg śrī mahārājāngkĕn īśwarapratiwimba.*

[6] "Sukamṛta" (Penanggungan), 1296; Poerbatjaraka 1940:41, plate 8a: *sākṣāt praṇālāmratisubaddhkĕn pangdiri bhatāra jayaśrīwiṣṇuwardhananāmadewābhiṣeka, sira sang lina ring mandāraparwwata, kāngkĕn iśwarapratiwimba ring yawabhūmi tumulyani nūṣāntara.*

[7] "Decree Jayasong," c.1351; Brandes 1913:206, OJO 85; Pigeaud 1960:63, Vol.1:104: (plate 3a) . . . *prāṇrakṣaka śrī mahārāja praṇālāmratisubaddhakĕn pangdiri śrī mahārājāngkĕ iśwarapratiwimba gumawayakĕn hitakarmman yawadwīpamaṇḍala.*

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kingdom."[8] The same kind of *praṇāla* relationship existed between Jayanagara and his *patih* Dyah Puruṣeśwara, the *praṇāla* on which the king (like a god) stood ("Tuhañaru" inscription I,b,[n. 2]). Before considering that, more should be said about Jayanagara himself.

Śrī Mahārāja Jayanagara's career

Jayanagara was the son of Kṛtarājasa Jayawardhana, the founder of Majapahit. The young Kṛtarājasa, then known as Raden (Prince) Wijaya, was a great-nephew of the Singhasāri ruler Kṛtanagara who was overthrown and killed in 1292 by the forces of his Kaḍiri rival, Jayakatwang. Raden Wijaya took the field against Jayakatwang and in 1293 defeated and killed his Kaḍiri enemy. In the civil war, Raden Wijaya was aided by a Mongol expeditionary force that had landed in early 1293 to avenge an earlier insult to Kublai Khan by the now deceased Kṛtanagara. Raden Wijaya then turned on his foreign allies and forcibly expelled them. According to the Nāgarakṛtāgma (45:2-46:1), the new king took the four daughters of Kṛtanagara as wives. The eldest, Tribhuwana, became the Parameśwarī or principal queen. She was followed by the Mahādewī, Princess Duhitā; the Jayendradewī, named Prajñāpāramita; and the youngest, Princess Gāyatrī, who was the Rājapatnī, the most favored of the wives (Nag. 46:1). His marriage to Kṛtanagara's daughters was noted in Kṛtarājasa's first known inscription, the 11 September 1294 "Kuḍadu" (Gunung Butak) inscription that trumpeted his recent victories and rewarded villagers who had sheltered him during the war (Brandes 1920:93-100). The four wives were listed by name and precedence on Kṛtarājasa's 1296 "Sukamṛta" (Poerbatjaraka 1940) and 1305 "Balawi" (Poerbatjaraka 1936) inscriptions in the same order as in the Nāgarakṛtāgama.[9] Kṛtarājasa's special relationship with Gāyatrī, the Rājapatnī, is noted in the "Balawi" inscription (2 verso, 3) where they are depicted as *arddharājeśwarī*, united in one body as god and goddess. At this point, the Nāgarakṛtāgama and the epigraphic record diverge.

On both the "Sukamṛta" and "Balawi" inscriptions Jayanagara 's mother is identified as the Parameśwarī, thus making him the grandson of Śrī Mahārāja Kṛtanagara and great-grandson of Śrī Mahārāja Jayawiṣṇuwardhana in the direct line of the Rājasa royal dynasty (*rājasawangśa*) whose founding ancestor in 1222 was Ranggah Rājasa (Ken Angrok). This was a more impressive lineage on the maternal side than that of his father, a member of a collateral branch of the

[8] Pigeaud's translated *kaḍatwan* as "royal family." Its literal meaning is "the place where the king resides," the royal court — in modern Javanese the *kraton*. In his commentary justifying the equating of *kaḍatwan* with the royal family rather than a locality, Pigeaud compared it to a phrase that occurred in a 1351 inscription (Brandes 1909:38-39). In it Gajah Mada was the *praṇāla* that devotedly supported their majesties, the seven kings (i.e. the royal family). The *kaḍatwan* is not mentioned.

[9] The historicity of the Kṛtanagara's four daughters has been questioned. The Pararaton (24 [31]) mentions only two daughters who, after being rescued from the Mongols, were married to Kṛtarājasa. In the "Balawi" inscription (plate 2: 2) the princesses are depicted as the personifications of Bangli (Bali), Malayu, Madura, and Tanjung Pura (Borneo). From this, C.C. Berg (1950) deduced that the fourfold marriage was a mystical and mythical representation of empire. Pigeaud (1960 – 63) found the female cast of characters in the Singhasāri-Majapahit transition period an inextricable tangle with the main goal of legitimating Kṛtarājasa by his marriage to Kṛtanagara's daughters.

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rājasawangśa. In the Nāgarakṛtāgama, however, Jayanagara's maternity is treated differently, where it is stated that his mother was one Śrī Indreśwara (Nāg. 47: 2). This is the only reference to her in the Nāgarakṛtāgama, nor is there any mention of her in the inscriptions. She would have been an inferior wife (*binihaji*) outside the Rājasa bloodline. However, the section of the 1294 "Kuḍadu" inscription that lists the emoluments given to the royalty family and officials at the time the boon was granted, begins with the Śrī Mahārāja, followed by the Rakaryan Binihaji and Śrī Jayanagara, identified as her *kinapatan* (Brandes 1913:197, 11a). Although *binihaji* was titled, it is unlikely that Kṛtanagara's eldest daughter Tribhuwana, now the queen, would have been identified as a *binihaji*. Brandes (1920:131-132) thought that *kinapatan* (*kapat* [fourth]) meant that the infant, already destined to rule, was four months old at the time. According to the Nāgarakṛtāgama, Kṛtarājasa designated Jayanagara as crown prince in 1295 by installing him as *prabhu* or dependent king of Kaḍintĕn (Daha, Kaḍiri) (Nāg. 47:2).[10] This is confirmed by the "Sukamṛta" inscription (2b, 5) in which the Daha *prabhu* is termed a "child king" (*kumārarāja*). He would have been barely one year old. He also appears on the 1305 "Balawi" inscription (2b, 4), then at most ten years old, where the Daha *prabhu* is described as a brave and handsome young king. The early designation of the little child Jayanagara as crown prince meant that if he were in fact the child of the *binihaji* any other child by one of Kṛtarājasa's rājasawangśa wives would not be in the immediate line of succession.

The other "historical" text dealing with Majapahit's founding, the prose Pararaton (Brandes 1920), sheds a different light on the connubial arrangements when it states that the *binihaji* Dara Pĕtak was the mother of Kṛtarājasa's son, who had the *kṣatriya* name Kala Gĕmĕt before succeeding his father as King. In this account, Dara Pĕtak was the younger of the Malayu princesses — the other Dara Jingga — carried away as booty (*hañang*) following a successful military campaign initiated by Kṛtanagara to force the Sumatran kingdom to submit to Singhasāri's authority (Pararaton 24 [31]). The story of the two Malayu princesses and Raden Wijaya's connubial relationship with Dara Pĕtak is part of the lore of early Majapahit history filtered through the *kidung* literature.[11] The princesses were *panungkul*, the material and symbolic demonstration of Malayu's vassalage, offered as homage to the Singhasāri ruler but accepted by Kṛtanagara's Majapahit successor Kṛtarājasa. According to the Pararaton the princesses arrived in Java ten days after the Mongol troops left in 1293.[12]

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[10] The patrimonial organization of the Singhasāri and Majapahit courts involved a system of largely symbolic dependent courts headed by members of the Śrī Mahārāja's immediate family who were sacrally confirmed as subordinate rulers (*prabhu*) and shared in some degree the divinity inherent in the rājasawangśa. Their residential compounds remained at the Śrī Mahārāja's kraton. The Daha (Kaḍintĕn) title seems to have been reserved for the crown prince or princess. The hierarchical status of the dependent *prabhu*s seems based on age and degree of consanguinity with the king. Gender does not appear to have been a significant denominator of precedence.

[11] *Kidung*s are poetic tales composed in Javanese meters rather than Sanskrit. For the so-called "historical" *kidung*s see Berg 1927. The Malayu princesses are encountered in the *kidung*s *Rangga Lawe*, Canto 7 (Berg 1930) and *Harsa-Wijaya*, Canto 1 (Berg 1931).

[12] Chinese Yuan (Mongol) dynastic history places the arrival of the troops in Java in the second month of the 29th reign year of Kublai Khan, which is 1293 CE. They left on the 24th day of the fourth month of that year (Groeneveldt 1960:21-25). If Jayanagara was in fact only four months old in September 1294 (Sukamṛta), he would have been conceived in the July-August, 1293 period consistent with Dara Pĕtak's supposed arrival in Java.

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How can the differing accounts of Jayanagara 's birth be reconciled? One possibility is that the Pararaton's Dara Pĕtak and the Nāgarakṛtāgama's Śrī Indreśwarī were the same person. The latter name would have been her Sanskritrized formal identity in the court circles. A different issue is the ascription of Jayanagara's maternity to the Parameśwarī, Tribhuwana, in the "Sukamṛta" and "Balawi" inscriptions as opposed to the Nāgarakṛtāgama's Śrī Indreśwarī or the "Kuḍadu" inscription's Rakryan Binihaji. It is unlikely that Prapañca, the author of the Nāgarakṛtāgama, would have simply fabricated Indreśwarī. He was the senior Buddhist official serving Śrī Mahārāja Rājasanagara (Hayam Wuruk) in the mid-fourteenth century Majapahit court. His poem was a celebration of his royal patron and the rājasawangśa. He had intimate personal knowledge of the court and its history. Poerbatjaraka (1936:381) argued that Indreśwarī must be a "perfect" synonym for Parameśwarī. If so, it would be unique, as there appears to be no other such usage in Old Javanese epigraphy or literature. Another possibility is that the *binihaji*'s son was "promoted" to be the Parameśwarī's nominal or adoptive son, thereby strengthening his royal legitimacy through the rājasawangśa. Or, he could have been posthumously demoted through court intrigue to strengthen the claim to the throne of the Rājapatnī's grandson, the son of her daughter who was Jayanagara 's half-sister.

Jayanagara came to the throne at his father's death in 1309 (Nāg. 47:3; Pararaton 25 [32]). On the two royal inscriptions that are known from Jayanagara 's regnal period, his sacral reign name is given as Śrī Sundarapāṇḍya, not Śrī Jayanagara ("Tuhañaru" 1323, and "Blitar 1," 1324). This name only occurs on the inscriptions. Krom (1931:379) noted that at first glance one might wonder if it might not be some usurper. Internal evidence, however, seems to prove that this was in fact Jayanagara 's sacral name. Krom's suggestion that the name showed strong South Indian cultural influence was confirmed by Schnitger (1934). Jayanagara was a contemporary of the South Indian Paṇḍya empire king Sundarapāṇḍya (IV) who ruled 1308-1327. Also, Jayanagara's royal seal was the *mīnadvaya* or "twin fish" that was also the Pāṇḍyan royal seal. Why Jayanagara would have adopted a reign name seemingly so alien to the *rājasawangśa* is yet to be determined. Does it possibly reflect a political content to the apparent Pāṇḍya influence?

Both the Nāgarakṛtāgama and the Pararaton depict Jayanagara's kraton as constantly being threatened by war, revolt, and deadly palace intrigue. He would have been about 14 years old when he mounted the throne in 1309. The Pararaton identifies at least nine military campaigns between 1309 and 1328, the year Jayanagara died.[13] It is not unlikely that the Rājapatnī would have had her partisans. She had two daughters — Tribhuwana (not to be confused with her aunt) and Rājadewī. Half-sisters of Jayanagara , they represented the important female element of the rājasawangśa line of descent. This helps to explain the communication of the Pararaton (27[34]) that, wanting the princesses for himself, Jayanagara barred from the court possible *kṣatriya* suitors.[14] They did not

[13] In a revisionist reading of the history of the period, C.C. Berg (1938:135) placed the internal wars in Kṛtarājasa's reign, a chronology adopted by Coedès (1968:201, 233).

[14] Stutterheim (1939) viewed the Rājapatnī and her daughter as the *śakti* or female energy perpetuating the royal family. In the Pararaton's history (myth, legend), the origin of the rājasawangśa is Ranggah Rājasa's (Ken Angok)

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marry until after his death. The Nāgarakṛtāgama simply states that the king died in 1328 (Nāg. 48:3). The Pararaton (27 [34]) relates that the king was assassinated in a court conspiracy orchestrated by Gajah Mada.

At his death, the crown passed to the legitimate rājasawangśa royals. The Rājapatnī's eldest daughter, Tribhuwana, became queen. The standard assumption is that Jayanagara , who would have been in his early thirties, died without male issue eligible for the throne (Krom 1931:383). That he died without any male issue can be questioned. On plate 3 verso (Brandes' 3b) of the "Tuhañaru" inscription, it is pointed out that an additional reason for the boon dispensed by Jayanagara to Dyah Makaradhwaja was the fact that he stood in family relationship to the king as a son. The question is how eligibility to the throne was determined. Any male heir would have faced the test of lineage in the rājasawangśa. In her first known inscription, the 1329 "Gĕnĕng II" stone, the new queen is titled Śrī Tribhuwanottuṅgadewījayawiṣṇuwarddhanī, underlining her maternal-line relationship to her great-grandfather (Krom 1931:386). Immediately following the queen's name is the statement that her order was issued with the auspicious blessing (*manggalya*) of the queen who was the wife of Kṛtarājasa — that is the Rājapatnī — who was bound by her vows as a Buddhist nun.[15] Up to and after her death, the Rājapatnī is portrayed in the Nāgarakṛtāgama as the beneficent source of dynastic good fortune. Tribhuwana's son Hayam Wuruk, grandson of the Rājapatnī, was born in 1334. Tribhuwana acted as his regent until he took the throne in 1350 as Rājasanagara, the same year the Rājapatnī died.[16] After the death of her mother and Rājasanagara's ascension to the Majapahit throne, Tribhuwana became the *manggalya* for her son's acts ("Rembang" plate *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1917:48). Jayanagara's disappearance from Majapahit's dynastic history seems epitomized by the Nāgarakṛtāgama's account of the 1359 royal progress (Nāg. Cantos 17-56). In the course of his journey through the kingdom, Rājasanagara visited the temples in which all of his rājasawangśa predecessors had been enshrined, from Ranggah Rājasa at Kagĕnĕṅan to the Rājapatnī at Bhayalangö, but not to Jayanagara's sacred sites.

Jayanagara's Viṣṇu temples

In life, Jayanagara was praised as an incarnation of Viṣṇu ("Blitar I" inscription). In death, he "returned to Viṣṇu's abode" (Nāg. 48:3). His posthumous identification with Viṣṇu further differentiated him from his royal predecessors. In the funerary practices of Old Java's kings, after

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union with Ken Dĕdĕs, a woman from whose womb a fiery glow emanated, a sign of her *śakti*. To use Moens's term, Ken Dĕdĕs was the *ādiśakti*, the divine mother of the *rājasawangśa* (Moens 1955:405-406).

[15] In the context of the inscription a *manggalya* is "the person who possesses the salutary power of blessing, purifying, or assuring success" (Zoetmulder 1982, I:1109).

[16] Krom (1931:381-382) argued that Tribhuwana ruled as a regent for her mother who, as Kṛtanagara's granddaughter, was the legitimate successor to the throne but because of her religious obligations could not directly rule. The regency would have ended in 1350 when the Rājapatnī died and the male heir, her grandson then aged 16, assumed the throne.

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death the corporeal remains were cremated.[17] His soul or spirit, however, was thought to be reanimated by ritual and worship at the temple in which he was united with his ancestors and his tutelary god enshrined in the temple's central image, the *pratiṣṭha* for the descent of the god to join the soul of the deceased king. By the thirteenth century, the convergence of Brahmanic and Buddhist belief systems in East Java led to an abstract unification of Śiva and Buddha so that all manifestations of god were ultimately from a single absolute god-head, but worshiped in different ways. This meant that one could enter the divine presence of an ancestor king as embodied in the image of different gods at different temples.

The five Singhasāri and Majapahit rulers up to Jayanagara had double enshrinements as Śiva and Buddha. When Jayanagara died, he had four enshrinements (Nāg. 48:3). In the palace complex, his *pratiṣṭha* was an unsurpassed image of Viṣṇu. He also was enshrined as an incomparable incarnation of Viṣṇu in statues at Śīla Pĕtak and at Bubat. Finally, at a place called Sukhalīla, he was portrayed in a Buddhist image as a manifestation of Amoghasiddhi.[18] The enshrinement within the kraton complex was not unique. His father, Kṛtarājasa, had been enshrined as a Bodhisattva (probably Vairocana) in the Antahpura, the innermost compound of the kraton, as well as being installed as Śiva at Simping (Nāg. 47:3). The sites of Jayanagara's enshrinements have not been localized. What sets Jayanagara 's enshrinements apart from his predecessors is that he had no Śaivite manifestation to be worshipped as part of an ancestral line going back to Ranggah Rājasa who was extolled in both the Nāgarakṛtāgama and Pararaton as a divine incarnation of Śiva. This may be another indication of his alienation from the rājasawangśa.

Jayanagara's Vaiṣṇavism is displayed in what is the most complete and perhaps unique example of the temple model of politics. It is found at the end of that part of the "Tuhañaru" inscription that explains why Jayanagara (Sundarapāṇḍya) granted the boon to Dyah Makaradhwaja. What follows is the relevant passage of Brandes's transcription (1913:200-201) and a preliminary translation.

Text

3b *. . .matangnyan inayubhāgya rasa panghyang dyah makaradhwaja de śrī mahārāja, makaphala wruhanikang sakalajana ri kadharmmeṣṭan śrīmahārāja, ikang tan wnang tan masih ring uwus mulahakĕn dharmmaning sewa-*

4a *kottama, muang tan pgat ning kaparahitan inulahakĕn śrī mahārāja, an tuhutuhu wiṣṇwatāra inadhiṣṭhana sang paramasujana pinratiṣṭa, irikang rājya i Majapahit*

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[17] Soekmono (1995) conclusively disproved the long held belief that the Old Javanese temples (known as *candis*) were tombs in which the kings were buried or their ashes deposited.

[18] The Pararaton notes a double enshrinement for Jayanagara – Śrĕnggapura and Antawulan – but without indicating what god was installed. Krom (Brandes 192:138 n. 4) suggested that the two sites might be found in Prapañca's list of 27 royal sanctuaries of the ancestor kings (Nāg. 73-74) with Śrĕnggapura being the Śrī Ranggapura Nāg. 74:1) and Antawulan being Antaraṣaṣi (Nāg. 73:3). This assumes that Rājasanagara counted Jayanagara among his ancestors.

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kāngkĕn prāsāda, makapraṇāla rake tuhan mapatih dyah puruṣeśwara, makapunpun anak ang sayawadwīmaṇḍala, makāngśa ikang nūṣa madhura tañjungpurādi, yatāmijlakĕn ayabyayan ing sakalajanasatata bhakti mangarccana ri paduka śrī mahārāja, muang po ḍa [?] pawwat nikang nūṣapanūṣa [Krom: nūṣsparanūṣa] kānkĕng pangrāgaskar gatinyantan kalūgan prāptāngkĕn pratiwarṣa, matangyan enak ta pangarccana nikang sewakottama mulahakĕn kaparahitan muang rumakṣa tguhan ing swadharmma kāngkĕn kriyā japa samādhi ning manghyang turun i warānugrha śrī mahārāja, an prasi-

4b. *ddha wiṣṇupratiwimba makawyakti, wnang śrī mahārāja wigrahānugraha ring sakalajana, dyah makaradhwaja pwa yogya turunana warānugraha, matangnyan dinadyakĕn ta sang hyang ajña haji praśāti tinaṇḍa mīnadwayalañcana . . .*

Translation

3b . . .for those reasons the contents of the pious request of Dyah Makaradhwaja has been granted by His Majesty, resulting in the people's consciousness of His Majesty's great virtue and unparalleled execution of this out of his moral duties

4a and ceaseless efforts on behalf of the welfare of his subjects. Indeed, [he is] an avatar of Viṣṇu who has been placed [as an image] among the good people and consecrated in the Kingdom of Majapahit which is like a tower temple. The pedestal is the noble *patih* Dyah Puruṣeśwara. The [temple's] domain is the island of Java in its entirety together with the other islands having as foremost Madura and Tañjungpura. The subjects must bear the costs of the devotions and worship of His Majesty. The [tribute?] presented by the various islands can be compared to the flower offerings that come due every year. It is faithful service and worship that leads to the peoples' welfare and the protection and stability of the moral order. The worshipful plea for the handing down of the requested boon is a religious ritual, a prayer, or yogic concentration addressed to His Majesty,

4b who is the perfect image of Viṣṇu as proved by his right to dispense favors. It is proper that boon has descended to Dyah Makaradhwaja and issued as a most holy royal command sealed by the mark of the "twin fishes". . .

The grand political metaphor is unambiguous. The political kingdom of Majapahit is at the same time a Viṣṇu temple the grounds of which are Java and its appertaining dependencies. In the temple, it is the king who is installed as an image of Viṣṇu erected on the pedestal of his *patih.* The demands on and extractions from the population by the king in his kraton are framed in the metaphor as worshipful duties and offerings to the god in the temple. The favor of the king is begged for as a prayer and granted as divine dispensation. The temple model of politics does not just link the sacred to the secular; it infuses the political functions of the state with transcendent religious meaning.

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The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak and the fracturing of the Javanese polity, c. 803 A.D.

Jeffrey Sundberg

While I was living in Indonesia and just beginning my amateur investigations into Central Javanese history and religion, I came into contact with the distinguished Professor Dr. Lokesh Chandra through the kind intermediation of the late Dr. Caesar Voûte, accomplished Professor of Geology and former head of the UNESCO Borobudur Restoration Advisory Committee. Besides acquainting me with several of his publications which were unavailable in Java, Dr. Chandra energetically addressed and explicated a great deal of the Buddhist and Sanskrit material which I encountered there. From my experience of their helpfulness, it is apparent that Dr. Chandra and his talented family are excellent friends of Indology and Javanology, always eager to lend their considerable expertise and formidable intellectual resources to shed light on a problem. I will always be grateful to Dr. Chandra for the time he took to share his deep understanding of the medieval Buddhist world.

Among many other topics which arose in discussions on Java with Dr. Chandra was a curious and important short excerpt from a Javanese Sanskrit edict on the tax status of a set of fields at Wanua Tengah, originally issued by King Garung on 4 November 829 A.D. We know of Garung's edict only because a portion of it is quoted in the juridical background of the inscription of Wanua Tengah III, a Javanese copperplate which dates to 908 A.D. during the reign of King Balitung. Among his other observations on the Sanskrit passage, Dr. Chandra noticed that the Javanese king *Rakai* Warak *dyaḥ* Manāra (reigned 803–827 A.D.) was termed the '*Rāgin*', 'One Who is Angry'. It is to Dr. Chandra that I owe my understanding of the literal meaning of this passage, and I hope that he appreciates this attempt to amplify the background to this mysterious epithet and hopefully render it more comprehensible.

The primary subject of this paper is the Javanese king Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Warak dyaḥ Manāra and the possibility that the Śailendra archipelagic empire fell apart during his reign. Warak was coronated on 3rd March 803 A.D. and reigned for a quarter of a century until a successor briefly assumed the throne in 827. The historical and epigraphical record of his reign is essentially mute: we have virtually no information about the events during Warak's reign. However, a passage of the Old Sundanese mytho-history *Carita Parahyangan* ('Chronicle of the Deified Ancestors' may be an adequate translation) describes Rakai Warak dyaḥ Manāra (under the name 'Sang Manarah', without reference to his *raka* title) imprisoning his father the Raka of Panaraban and fighting with a brother who sided with the jailed Panaraban. After the imprisonment of Panaraban, the Carita Parahyangan, which had in earlier passages highlighted such historically recognized Central Javanese regents as

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Senna, Sañjaya, Panaraban and Warak, shifts its attention to a sequence of Sundanese rulers, almost totally unknown to Central Javanese history[1], indicating that Warak's contretemps with his brother marked a divergence in the rule of Java into eastern and western regimes. The concluding portion of this paper will examine collateral evidence to support the possibility that during Warak's reign, the powerful position enjoyed during the 780's by the Śailendra had dissolved, with the Malay, the Sundanese, and the Javanese components of the effective whole fracturing; their Khmer thrall even declaring independence.

Before we examine the figure of Warak, we must first look back a quarter of a century from Warak's coronation, to a time when the Javanese Śailendra kings[2] were masters of the oceans.

The killer of arrogant enemies, Javanese sea raids, and the vassalage of Cambodia

During the 770's, Java was dominated by one famous and feared Śailendra king, a towering historical figure whose proper coronation name is in dispute because of his preference for being referenced as the 'Killer of Arrogant Enemies' in three extant inscriptions. We find mentions of this 'Killer' in the inscription of Ligor (775 A.D.) from the Malay Peninsula as well as the inscription of Kelurak (782 A.D.) from Prambanan in Central Java. Most interestingly, this 'Killer' king is referenced in the Indian Nālandā inscription[3] of the great Pāla king Devapāladeva not by name but only by this epithet. This Nālandā inscription is chronologically last of the three extant inscriptions mentioning the 'killer of arrogant enemies', but will receive the first consideration because it provides such a clear overview of the dynastic relations of the Śailendras during this early period. In this document, which de Casparis (1956:259 n. 71) notes must have been drawn up with the greatest of

[1] The one astounding exception to the post-Warak obliviousness is Sang Wĕlĕng, third in the line of the Carita Parahyangan's post-Warak kings. Wĕlĕng is seemingly known to students of Javanese history and epigraphy as *Rakai* Walaing *pu* Kumbhayoni, instigator of at least seven Central Javanese inscriptions. More commentary on this person will be provided below.

[2] Now is not the time or venue to debate whether King Warak and others in the line of kings stemming from Śrī Sañjaya are to be identified as the Śailendra kings (the 'single-dynasty' thesis of Central Javanese history). As *pro tem* justification for the assumptions made in this paper, I point to the fact that no native Javanese account accommodates an explanation of the 'two-dynasties' thesis. Medieval Javanese chronicles such as the *Babad Tanah Jawi* and *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* present an understanding that the Śailendra kings ruled until a new dynasty was founded by Erlangga in the 11th century (Berg 1965:106-107, 111), thus omitting the lengthy span of time during which a lineage honoring Sañjaya clearly and indisputably ruled Central and East Java alone. Equally pertinent, the author of the Old Sundanese Carita Parahyangan relinquished some truly fascinating narrative material if he omitted as salient an episode in his 'Sañjaya Saga' as Sañjaya's encounter with the Śailendras.

The 'single-dynasty' identification which I presume in this paper has been effectively contested with customary skillfulness by Jordaan 2004.

[3] The inscription of Nālandā was recovered in 1920 from the debris of one of the monasteries in the great Bengali Buddhist university of Nālandā. It is dated to the 35th regnal year of King Devapāladeva of the Buddhist Pāla dynasty, a date which has yet to be precisely correlated to its corresponding Christian year but should be considered to be somewhere in the period of 820-850 (See Jordaan 2000 for an overview of the history of the dating as well as for other useful analysis of the dates). In it, King Devapāladeva donated the tax yield of five Bengali villages for the copying of Buddhist manuscripts and the upkeep of a monastery founded in Nālandā by Bālaputradeva, king of Sumatra.

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care as it represents a diplomatic charter involving two great kings and two of the greatest Buddhist kingdoms of the medieval period, Bālaputradeva specifies his *vaṃśakara* or *vaṃśāvalī*, the line of his royal descent. His father was Samarāgravīra, son of that 'killer of enemies' who reigned as the king of Java. His mother was Tārā, Samarāgravīra's principal queen (*agramahiṣī*), scion of the Lunar dynasty and daughter of a King Dharmasetu[4]. While his father, his mother, and his maternal grandfather are all named, Bālaputradeva deems fit, in this most highly formal and dignified of documents, to mention his paternal grandfather not by name but merely by his preferred epithet as 'killer of brave enemies' and note that he reigned as King of Java.

Why is it that this Buddhist king should carry variants of the epithet 'killer of arrogant enemies' and in fact prefer its use to the other royal names that he carried? What about the epithet spoke so convincingly to an international audience that its use was unambiguously recognized in a royal diplomatic charter at Nālandā, two generations and a thousand miles away? Is there any evidence which would allow us to reconstruct the nature of this king's conquests?

To begin with, we must inquire about the nature of the enemies the Killer is likely to have slain. Evidence suggests but does not prove that the Śailendra may have struggled to establish military control over Central Java, killing opponents in the process, continuing to push back enemies and quell rebellions in order to strengthen the Śailendra state, a polity that by 775 was sufficiently prosperous to begin the erection of large temple groups to the various Buddhist deities. Such a series of small conquests over local opponents, no matter what fate the Śailendra king subjected them to, are unlikely to warrant such an inflated title as 'killer of arrogant enemies'; and the appearance of the

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[4] One arresting but little-appreciated fact about the inscription of Kalasan of 778 A.D. is that it seems to provide a terminus for the marriage between the Soma and Śailendra; in fact, the building of the temple to Ārya-Tārā at Kalasan may be a celebration of the betrothal itself.

As nearly as can be told, the Kalasan inscription seems to be a *praśasti* which flattered the Somavaṃśa by artfully incorporating the names of the father, Dharmasetu and the daughter Tārā into the text. Of the tens of thousands of terms which might be selected out of an extensive Sanskrit vocabulary to include in the short dedication of a temple to the Buddhist goddess Tārā, after whom his daughter-in-law and a future queen of the family was named, the Śailendra king managed in prophetic anticipation to select the term *dharmasetu* ('Bridge of Religion'), the exact name of the Somavaṃśa king who was the maternal grandfather of the Killer's grandson Bālaputradeva. I consider it beyond happenstance that an inscription of 778 would anticipate the marriage into the Śailendra fold of two individuals whose names are repeatedly employed in that very inscription. If the Nālandā inscription told us other names of the family, we should not be surprised to find that name woven into the Kalasan inscription too.

We must therefore put a limit of the year 778 on the date of the marriage, with great consequences for our understanding of the dynastic history of ancient Central Java as well as the location of the heart of the Śailendra kingdom.

It is worth noting that the Kalasan inscription records that construction of the temple was executed by the *paṅkur, tawān*, and *tīrip*, who served the *deśādhyakṣa*s and *mahāpuruṣa*s, presumably of the Śailendra and not the Somavaṃśa king. The meaning of this last term, literally 'big men' and often therefore glossed as 'notables' (Sarkar 1970:37), may be properly deciphered by reference to Beyer's studies of the tantric literature surrounding Tārā (1973:151). In the context of the 'seven precious gems of sovereignty', '*puruṣa*' meant 'minister': during the early Śailendra period, the *mahāmantri* were the *paṅkur, tawān*, and *tīrip*. The involvement of these great ministers is a clear indication of the importance attached by the Śailendra king to the construction of this Tārā temple.

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epithet in the overseas diplomatic context of the Indian Pālas as a formal replacement for a proper name would certainly invite perplexion and possibly ridicule. For this reason, the epithet is unlikely to pertain to a series of conquests of local minor kingdoms.

If we cast around for bigger fish for the Killer to fry, we settle upon three real possibilities, the Śrī Vijayan kingdom in the Malay straits, the Khmer kingdom in Cambodia, and the kingdom of Champā in south-central Vietnam[5]. Each was ruled by a titled monarch whose defeat could be proclaimed with pride by the Śailendra regent. The conquest of any one of these three kingdoms would be exactly the ground for gaining an epithet which would be appreciated and not disparaged when presented to the Pālas, who had their own accomplished dynast. About the first kingdom we have no explicit evidence, other than to note that by the time of the Śailendra King of Suvarṇṇadvīpa Bālaputradeva two generations after The Killer, it is obvious that the Śailendra family was in control of Sumatra and probably had been since steamrolling, smothering, or subordinating Śrī Vijaya sometime after 740, the date of the last of that country's embassies to China. On the latter, Javanese aggressions against the Cham are well documented in both Chinese annals and Southeast Asian inscriptions, commencing by 767 at the latest and continuing until at least 787 A.D. The Chinese annals leave no doubt about who instigated the depredations, recording the complaints of Southeast Asians of attacks by Java 闍婆國 [6]. Extant inscriptions reveal a few of the details of the Javanese aggression. In 774 A.D., a Javanese raid hit Kauthara, where the raiders burned the temple of Po Nagar and carried off its primary statue of Śiva[7] but were defeated by the pursuing Cham king Satyavarman. Satyavarman established an inscription at Po Nagar in 781 A.D., proclaiming that he had refurbished the burned temple and reasserted control over the area. In the 787 A.D. Yang Tikuh stone inscription of the Champā king Indravarman I (Majumdar: 1985:44-51) the army of Java is recorded as coming by sea — the inscription is explicit on this point, *śloka* 6 noting that the invaders were seaborne and from Java: *nāvāgatair jjava vala saṃghair*. The consequences of this raid, which looted and burned the Cham Śaiva temple known as Bhadrādhipatīśvara, were particularly noxious: Majumdar (1985:50) surmises that 'it is likely that the invasion of the Javanese fleet overthrew the last dynasty' and allowed the advent of the new dynast Pṛthivīndravarman. Unfortunately for the case that would be tempting to make, the 'Killer' epithet was in use by at least 782[8] so the 787 incident was not the cause of the epithet.

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[5] There is precedent for the geographic reach of the raids, which would have matched the extent of the Coḷa's 11th-century attacks on Śrī Vijaya and Śrī Laṅkan assaults on Burma. The duration of the raids, however, seems unprecedented, as though all of the seas were under uncontested Śailendra control.

[6] As Pulleyblank (1991:278) documents, the character 闍 was used in Buddhist transcription for Sanskrit 'ja' and 'jā', while 婆 had a phonic value of 'ba' in T'ang times. The characters are often transliterated with modern Mandarin pronunciation She^2-po^2.

[7] It is interesting to speculate that the Javanese, knowing full well how easily they pillaged the seaside temples of others, were certain to safeguard their own sacred architecture by locating it well inland.

[8] The epithet may be attested as early as 775 as it was used in the inscription of Ligor. As there is some controversy over the dating of the two sides of this inscription — I am personally convinced that the two sides are meant to form a composite whole — I will avoid contention by merely citing the use of this epithet in the inscription of Kĕlurak of 782 A.D.

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In trying to finally dereference the 'Killer' epithet, we are forced to draw together several strands of evidence around a merchant's tale concerning the beheading of a Cambodian king at the hands of an insulted and aggrieved monarch of Java. The story, which is entirely consistent with what is known of Javanese naval raids from the 760's onwards, stems from the reports of an Arab merchant, Sulayman, who returned to his homeland in 851 after many long years trading in the Indian Ocean. Sulayman reported the story as true and widely-known, and further claims that it happened within a century of his hearing it. The story goes that the king of the Khmer purposefully insulted the king of the country of 'Zābag', an island country ten to twenty sailing days due south of Cambodia- we can only read 'Java' as the designate of this Arab tale. The king of Zābag, not mentioned by name but explicitly denoted as one who employed the title '*Mahārāja*', organized a vast marine expedition and sailed his army to Cambodia, where he captured, humiliated, and then decapitated the Khmer king. Before the king of 'Zābag' left, he placed a puppet on the Cambodian throne[9]. This story finds epigraphic substantiation in a number of Cambodian inscriptions reporting that the Khmer dynast Jayavarman II, who came forth from an exile in Java (Majumdar 1944:77), organized at least one solemn religious ceremony in the year 802 A.D. in order that his 'Holy Cambodia' may be freed from the influence of 'Javā'. Equally importantly, these histories suggest that Jayavarman II was a hostage in Java during his youth.

If we are correct in linking Śailendra Java with the king of 'Zābag'— there is substantial evidence to suggest that a Javanese maritime invasion did indeed take place — then this would be exactly the sort of conquest which would earn the Śailendra king the epithet of 'killer of arrogant enemies'. As a postscript to his account, the merchant Sulayman noted that the decapitation of the Khmer king by the Mahārāja earned him great status in the eyes of the kings of India and China (Briggs 1951: 69), as indeed it should and it seemed to have done. Whatever the difficulties involved in its implementation, the capture and execution of a rival overseas king is exactly the celebrated feat which would earn the Śailendra king an epithet of renown, an epithet which needed absolutely no further explanation when used in the diplomatic Nālandā document three generations' hence.

The scope of references to Warak and the Raka of Warak dyaḥ Manāra

King Warak is twice mentioned in the corpus of extant Central Javanese inscriptions, but no inscription due to Warak has yet been recovered. The earliest epigraphical mention of Warak, known to historians since Stutterheim's publication in 1929, occurs in the inscription of Mantyāsiḥ of 907 A.D., which named Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Warak as one in the list of the eight great kings whose assistance was invoked for the preservation of an important *sīma* by King Balitung. A more recent epigraphical discovery, the inscription of Wanua Tengah III, provides substantially more information about Warak. This inscription provides a lengthy legal history of a set of fields at Wanua Tengah which had been established as *sīma* by King Panangkaran on behalf of a *vihāra* at Pikatan founded

[9] The reader is urged to consult Briggs1951: 67-69 for a fuller version of this tale.

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by a certain '*rahyangta* i Hāra', a deified noble who was apparently the younger brother of Sañjaya. This Wanua Tengah III inscription provides a list of the kings of Java from Panangkaran to Balitung and the various allocations and revocations they had made concerning the Pikatan vihāra's sīma. From the inscription, we learn that on March 3, 803 A.D. Rakai Warak dyaḥ Manāra assumed the throne, succeeding Rake Panaraban who had been ruling since 784. Unlike Panaraban, who had upheld Panangkaran's sīma provisions for the Pikatan vihāra, Warak withdrew them. When dyaḥ Manāra died, he was interred at Kelāsa[10]. Warak's successor dyaḥ Gula took the throne in late July of 827 A.D. and maintained Warak's cancellation of the sīma provided by Panangkaran. The sīma provisions were reinstated by King Garung in November 829. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the Wanua Tengah III inscription incorporated a fascinating Sanskrit quotation from Garung's 829 edict which provides an appellation for Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Warak dyaḥ Manāra.

Before addressing the meaning of the Sanskrit epithet, it will be instructive to try to define the location of the *watak* of Warak. The lowland topology of Central Java has changed much in the 1,200 years since the time of dyaḥ Manāra, yet traces of the name still exist. The United States Geological Service's Geonames server turns up a number of instances of Warak and variants like Kuwarakan. Upon investigation, it appears that there are three primary clusters of this toponym. Of these clusters, one lies some miles to the east of Mount Merbabu and south of Ampel. Another cluster, including a *Kali* Warak (the 'Warak rivulet', the name of which is unlikely to have changed for centuries) lies far to the southwest of Yogyakarta, in the area west of Wates. The final rough grouping lies in the region between Sleman and Magelang, and also includes a Kali Warak. There is the village of Warak which lies about 7 kilometers to the northeast of Magelang, and the village of Kuwarakan about 1 km further on; both are in the plains between Merbabu and Sumbing, as is the Kali Warak, located 3 km to the west of Muntilan. The Yogyakarta Warak is dusun Warak, Sumberhadi, Mlati, Sleman. Whether these have anything to do with our Rakai Warak is unanswerable, although there is a strong likelihood that one of them is associated with the mention of 'Waragwarak' (perhaps denoting the Warak village in Warak district) 821 A.D. stone inscription of Kamalagi, which originated just a few miles from Magelang and the Borobudur *stūpa*. A variant 'Warakwarak', explicitly located in the *watak* of Hino, finds mention in the Prambanan-area copperplate of Poh of 905 A.D. Considering that almost no relics and inscriptions from the Matarām kingdom have been found near the western Wates and eastern Ampel clusters of Warak-related toponyms, I think that the Magelang-Sleman area scattering is most likely to indicate the site for the historical *watak* of Warak[11]. Allowing that King Warak dyaḥ Manāra's personal *watak* lay near

[10] It is unknown if any mountain in Java was designated as a Kailāśa during the Hindu-Buddhist period. However, Warak need not necessarily be interred somewhere on a mountain, for the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* (Chapter LIII, verse 833) mentions Kalāśā among the seats of Tārā (Ghosh 1980:8, n.5). It is not out of the question that *dyaḥ* Manāra's ashes were either enshrined in the same temple which (as argued above) was likely constructed in honor of his mother Tārā, or else in a nearby stūpa.

[11] What is striking about the word 'warak' is its extremely frequent pairing with the term 'halu', the pair being listed, along with a similar term 'kalung-warak', among the customary collectors of royal taxes. We find this 'haluwarak'

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Magelang has the additional benefit of providing a plausible explanation for the naming of the Menoreh hills which overlook the Borobudur stūpa. Elsewhere I have argued (Sundberg 2006) that the stūpa was largely built during Warak's reign, with some culminating features constructed with the telltale architectural methods first employed during the reign of Garung.

Another apparent reference to the locale of Warak might provide some explanation for the name of the watak, and may provide future researchers some clue for identifying its location. The ecclesiastical title of Sang Watuwarak (seemingly designating a locale where there is a 'Rock (*watu*) of Warak') occurs in the 885 A.D. Kaduluran inscription from Klaten, although the religious witnesses for this inscription seem drawn from many areas of the kingdom, prohibiting us from guessing the location of the temple ministered by Sang Watuwarak. However, the Old Javanese dictionary of Zoetmulder translates as '*warak*' as 'rhinosaurus'[12], an animal found in the islands of the East Indies; indeed, some Javan rhinos still live in the Sundanese west of Java. It is not impossible that the watak was named for this animal: a clear precedent can be found in the watak of 'Pikatan' (seemingly, given its translation into Sanskrit in the WT3 inscription as '*pakṣi*', a bird). However, the reference to Sang Watuwarak reinforces the notion that the watak was named for some spiky promontory, shaped like a rhinosaurus or sword.

However much we might dwell on the questions of the location and implications of dyaḥ Manāra's watak, there is one final piece of information known from the Javanese historical sources which is equally well-worth pondering. As noted above, on November 4, 829, King Garung restored the royal fields at Wanua Tengah as sīma to the vihāra at Pikatan that earlier were revoked by Warak, the 'Holy Śrī Mahārāja Who Was Interred at Kelāsa'. In doing so, Garung's edict included the following Sanskrit verse:

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pairing in a substantial number of inscriptions of Central and East Javanese provenance (Damais 1970:110-112). What is more, we find almost exactly this same tax-collectors' title as the title of East Javanese *rakryān*: the inscription of Hariñjing B (921 A.D.) from Kediri mentions both the *Rakryān*s of Halu as well as that of 'Kalu Warak', while the inscription of Kinewu from near Blitar mentions a '*Rakryānta* of Kalung Warak'. There is a precedent for this hybrid of toponym and function: in the inscription of Sinaguha (found near Kalasan) '*sinaguha*' designates a locale as well as a genus of tax collector. It should be stressed that there is no known fact which links the Central Javanese throne with that of any East Javanese bureaucratic or governmental body until a much later period in history, during the reign of Balitung. The entire topic merits a very painstaking study.

I note that pondering this nexus of Warak and Halu may provide clues to solving the riddle of the identity of the king of Halu who is honored with a series of seven Śaivite inscriptions erected on the Ratu Baka escarpment in the period from 856-863.

I observe in passing that the term 'Ka-halu-warak-an' could well serve as the linguistic antecedent for the village name of 'Kĕlurak', which lies between the temples of Prambanan and Sewu and which was the source of one of the four Śailendra inscriptions recovered from Java to date. Kusen (1995:205) notes that a village named Kalumwarak was noted in a Prambanan-area inscription dating to 905 A.D., which may be the present day villages of Klurak or Warak.

[12]The Sanskrit excerpt of King Garung's 829 A.D. decision to restore the *sīma* rights withdrawn by Warak references him by the translation *khaḍgaḥ*, which carries the meanings of both 'sword' and 'rhinosaurus'. The implication of 'sword' is carried in an Old Javanese tantric manual unconsidered for Father Zoetmulder's (1982) dictionary: in Lokesh Chandra's 1995 edition of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, the adept is urged to create a '*vajra*-tongue' by making his tongue '*warak*'. Beyer (1973:151) shows that *khaḍgaḥ* may possibly mean 'general' in the Buddhist Sanskrit vocabulary current at the time.

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// puramaddhye hiyat kṣetra vihāre pakṣi saṃjñate panaṅkara narendreṇa
pūrbada tatvaṃ yathāvidhi. ādattaṃ narendreṇa. manārākhye ṇarāgiṇā.
vihāranāḥ nāyanāyasya gāruṃ sajñābhicoditāḥ//

Regarding this strophe of the Sanskrit inscription, I am indebted to Dr. Chandra for the following explication, conveyed to me in a personal letter: 'These are two stanzas in the *anuṣṭubh* metre. They mean "The ərea of the monastery called *Pakṣi* (=Pikatan) that was in the *Puramadhya* (=Wanua Tĕñah) was given (= dedicated) formerly in due manner (*yatthā-vidhi*) by King Panaṅkara. It was revoked by the angry king Manāra. But later on the leaders of this monastery were commanded by [king] Gāruṅ [as follows IIA] to restore the rights". Dr. Chandra supplemented this translation with the amplifying note that "*rāgiṇā* is the instrumental singular of *rāgin*, 'one who is angry'."

The burning historical question then becomes: why is it that Warak should be denoted in a near-contemporary[13] remembrance by this unusual epithet? For a tentative but plausible answer, I would like to evaluate the narrative presented in the Old Sundanese mytho-history Carita Parahyangan, the only extant source which offers a description of the essential features of Warak's reign.

Mytho-historical remembrances of Warak in the Old Sundanese Carita Parahyangan

We turn now to the remarkable Sundanese mytho-history, Carita Parahyangan, today extant in a single manuscript, registered as *kropak* 406 in the National Library of Indonesia[14]. The Carita Parahyangan consists of 39 *lempir*, the first fifteen of which chronicle the period from the time of the Gods until the installation of Sañjaya on the throne of Senna and Sañjaya's attack on Kuningan. Lempir 16-26 discuss Sañjaya's military expeditions, and attributes to him dominion over Śrī Vijaya and many other states. The remaining lempir discuss the post-Sañjaya succession. So central a focus does Sañjaya occupy in this Sundanese history that Van der Meulen (1979:19, n. 7) was lead to surmise the existence of a 'King Sañjaya Saga' which was used as the basis for the material in the Carita Parahyangan. Van der Meulen noted that 'the life of Sañjaya, who is portrayed there as a Sundanese folk-hero from Galuh, is freely romanticized and mythicized. There are, however, a number of remarkably sober passages derived, it seems, from older genealogical material'. The entire Carita Parahyangan is well-worth examining and explicating, especially the information about Sañjaya and his Sundanese origins which is largely ignored in this essay — by no means has the text been wrung dry[15]. For the immediate purposes of this paper, the pertinent passage in the Carita

[13] The inscription dated from 4 November, 829 A.D., while Warak had been king less than three years before.

[14] The Carita Parahyangan manuscript is bundled with a similar text, called the 'Carita Parahyangan Fragments'; the two manuscripts are inseparable because they share *lempir* 11. The Carita Parahyangan has been published in part or whole by Poerbatjaraka, Noorduyn, Atja, and Undang. As Undang has included the Fragments in his edition, I have referenced it in this paper. I am grateful to Andrea Acri for the pains he took in procuring a copy of Undang's edition for me.

[15] In particular, the toponyms in the Carita Parahyangan deserve attention. The travelogue of Bujangga Manik (Noorduyn 1982), with its clear differentiation between the Mĕdang Kahiangan in the Sundanese lands around the modern Sumedang and the Mĕdang Kemulan in the Javanese lands around Purwodadi, may be especially instructive.

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Parahyangan, which I construe to shed deep light on the significant event of Warak's reign, is taken from the end of the reign of Sañjaya and reads as follows[16]:

> "Said Rahyang Sanjaya to his son Rakeyan Panaraban, who was Rahyang Tampĕran: 'Hey child, change (from) my religion, because it scares people'. He [Sañjaya] was a king for nine years, succeeded by Rahyang Tampĕran. Sang Rĕsi Guru started to stabilize Javadvīpa. The stabilizers were Galunggung and, on the east side, Jawa. At the border with Sunda there was a powerful pandit, namely Bagawat Sajalajala, murdered without having any sin. He was reincarnated as Sang Manarah, the son of Rahyang Tampĕran and the brother of Rahyang Banga. Sang Manarah took revenge: Rahyang Tampĕran was jailed by his son. Rahyang Tampĕran was imprisoned behind iron bars by Sang Manarah. Rahyang Banga came weeping, bringing rice to those iron bars, and was seen by Sang Manarah. Then he fought with Rahyang Banga. The face of Rahyang Banga was hit by Sang Manarah. From that moment, Sang Manarah became king of Jawa Pawwatan, according to the Javanese way of speaking. Rahyang Tampĕran was a king for seven years, due to his behavior. He liked to destroy ascetics. Therefore he was not long in being a king. Sang Manarah was a king for eighty years, because of his perfection in religion. Sang Manisri was a king for sixty years, because of his comprehension of Sanghiyang Siksa. Sang Tariwulan was king for seven years. Sang Wĕlĕngan was king for seven years."[17]

At the juncture of Warak's fight with his brother Banga and his imprisonment of his father

[16] '*Mojar Ra[h]hyang Sanyjaya ngawarah anak nira Rakeyan Panaraban, inya Ra[h]hyang Tampĕran, "Haywa dek nurutan agama aing, kena aing mrĕtakutna urang r[y]ea!" Lawasnyia ratu salapan tahun, disilah ku Ra[h]hyang Tampĕ[r]ran. Tĕmbĕy Sang Rĕsi Guru mangyuga taraju Jawadipa. Taraju ma inya Gulunggung, Jawa ma ti wetan. Di pamana Sunda hana pandita sakti, ngaranyia Bagawat Sajalajala pinĕjahan tanpa dosa. Mangjanma inya Sang Manarah, anak Ra[h]hyang Tampĕ[r]ran, dwa sapilanyceukan deung Ra[h]hyang Banga. Sang Manarah malĕs hutang; Ra[h]hyang Tampĕ[r]ran sinikĕp deneng anaknira. Ku Sang Manarah dipanjara wĕsi na Ra[h]hyang Tampĕ[r]ran. Datang Ra[h]hyang Ba[ng]nga, ceurik, tĕhĕr mawakeun sĕkul [inya] kana panjara wĕsi, kanyahoan ku Sang Manarah, tuluy diprangrang deung Ra[h]hyang Ba[ng]nga. Keuna mukana Rahiyang Ba[ng]nga ku Sang Manarah. Ti inya Sang Manarah adĕg ratu di Jawa Pawwatan. Carek Jawana, Ra[h]hyang Tampĕ[r]ran lawasniya adĕg ratu tujuh tahu(n), kena twa(h) siya bogoh ngarusa(k) nu ditapa, mana siya hanteu heubeul adĕg ratu. Sang Manarah lawasnyia adeg ratu dalapanpuluh tahun, kena rampes na agama. Sang Manisri lawasnyia ratu gĕnĕppuluh tahun, kena isis di Sanghiyang Siksa. Sang Triwulan lawasnyia ratu tujuh tahun. Sang Wĕlĕngan lawasnyia ratu tujuh tahun*' (Carita Parahyangan 32a-32b-31a-31b, transliteration of edition of Undang).

[17] I am indebted to the Borobudur scholar Hudaya Kandahjaya for offering the basis for this translation. I have presented Kandahjaya's original work here with slight modification and amplification.

[18] The compiler of the historical information seems to have little awareness of the civil war of 885 or the shift of government toward East Java in 929, shows no awareness of the Singhasāri-Kaḍiri kings, and fails to connect to anything related to the Javanese part of the island until he mentions a war with Majapahit. However, the author names one particular great king, Sriman Sriwacana Sri Baduga Maharajadiraja, *ratu haji* of Pakwan Pajajaran, with such specificity that we can assure ourselves that this king is not known anywhere in Central or East Javanese history.

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Panaraban, the Carita Parahyangan's list of kings segues away from personages recognizable in the historical sources of the Central Javanese Mataram kingdom into a list of the rulers of Sunda, or possibly the joint state of Sunda-Sumatra[18]. With one significant exception[19], this divergence between kings recognizable as central to the story of Central Java and those totally unrecognizable is complete, and the episode of Warak's imprisonment of Panaraban and fight with his brother Banga is the threshold which divides historical cognition from incognition[20].

What do we make of this Warak-related information from the Carita Parahyangan? According to this source, we find actions which could only be construed as a palace coup by Warak against his royal father the Rakai Panaraban, in which the father was supported by Warak's brother, who fought back against him from the territories of Sundanese West Java but lost[21]. From the moment of Banga's repulse, Warak was made king. The next section of the paper evaluates the possibility that the Carita Parahyangan's Warak-Banga narrative accurately reflects a genuine historical *coup d'état* against Panaraban.

Indicators of a palace revolt by Warak against his father Panaraban

The Carita Parahyangan addresses what I perceive to be the major features of Central Java in the

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[19] As noted above, the single exception to the post-Warak obliviousness is Sang Wĕlĕng, known to students of Javanese history and epigraphy as *Rakai* Walaing *pu* Kumbhayoni, instigator of at least seven Prambanan-area inscriptions over the years 856-863 A.D. According to his one of his own inscriptions, that of Haraliṅga, the Raka *pu* Kumbhayoni did rule something (the verb *rarāja* is featured in the fourth strophe), but demonstrably did not hold his regency in Central Java. As I envision the situation, a rough parallel could be drawn with England's Angevin kings.

If *pu* Kumbhayoni erected multiple Central Javanese inscriptions over the period of at least the seven years from 856-863 A.D., he was clearly a welcome figure in the heartland of King Kayuwangi. It is possible that the kings of Sunda and Central Java were at close accord because they were cooperating to contest the renascent power of Sumatra, stood up after the Śailendra fragmentation by Śrī Bālaputradeva. Kumbhayoni possibly served as the military commander of these forces.

We may infer from the information in the Carita Parahyangan that *pu* Kumbhayoni's ancestors were shared with those of the Central Javanese kings through the line Senna-Sañjaya-[Panangkaran]-Panaraban, before the line diverged between eastern and western branches, and Kumbhayoni ruled in the west. If in his Ratu Boko inscriptions he accentuates his descent from a great-grandfather who served as King of Halu, it may be because he wishes to emphasize his consanguinity with Kayuwangi. As van der Meulen observed (1977:109), the Halu Wesi later served as the emblem of the Sundanese kingdom of Galuh. The Original Mĕḍang of the Central Javanese inscription was explicitly noted as lying in Watu Galuh. One surmises that Kumbhayoni's four capitals, mentioned in one of his Ratu Boko inscriptions, are to be found in the West of the island, in the lands of Sunda. One of Kumbhayoni's locales, Lo-dwang, may itself denote a Sundanese river name: Bujangga Manik (Noorduyn 1982:433) had recorded the *Lwah* Progo, the Progo River, as *Ci-Loh*-Parago.

[20] Van der Meulen, who unfortunately died several years before the revelations of Wanua Tengah III permitted the identification of 'Rakeyan Panaraban' with King Panaraban/Panunggalan and 'Sang Manarah' with the King Warak dyaḥ Mānāra, observed that Sañjaya's ancestors seemed to be divided into Eastern and Western camps after his death, the Carita Parahyangan only chronicling the Western half, and that the kings known from the Mantyāsiḥ inscription were only those buried at Poh Pitu. Both van der Meulen and Poerbatjaraka could have easily completed this essay if they had but known of the dynastic information in the Wanua Tengah III inscription.

[21] To me, the Carita Parahyangan's presentation of Warak's imprisonment of Panaraban and fight with Banga is an analogue to the true event, suitable for presentation in a *wayang* performance.

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8th and 9th centuries as deduced from the extant epigraphical and historical evidence, so I believe that there are general validations which suggest that the Carita Parahyangan is built upon a core of facts as known by its 16th century author. The following features of the account of the Carita Parahyangan cause us to trust it as a historical source: the Carita Parahyangan describes such historically attested personalities as the line Senna[22] — Sañjaya — [Panangkaran][23] — Panaraban[24] — Warak[25]; the king Sena and the movement from Sunda to Mount Merapi; activity by Sañjaya in the vicinity of Merapi; campaigns of aggression by Sañjaya toward neighboring kingdoms in Java as well as Bali, Keling, Malayu (both of which were misunderstood by the author to by ruled by a king with the name of Śrīvijaya[26]), Cambodia, and (fancifully) China; a change of religion (presumably to Buddhism) by

[22] Sañjaya's Canggal inscription of 732 A.D. declares him to have descended from the sister of Senna rather than from Senna himself.

[23] It is a great curiosity that the author of the Carita Parahyangan should omit the person of *Rakai* Panangkaran from his otherwise correct list of the historical succession of the kings of Central Java. To me, the story presented by the Carita Parahyangan seems deeply skewed, attributing to Panaraban all of the attributes which seem to distinguish Panangkaran: son of Sañjaya and among the initial adherents of Buddhism. It is possible that the author's sources were damaged or that he mistakenly muddled Panangkaran because the source recorded him only under a confusing rubric, like his personal name or apotheosis name. Is it possible that the Carita Parahyangan lost a palm-leaf at some time prior to its redaction into the form that we now know it, and that the editor had to patch together a narrative from across two different folios using the only data he had available? It is difficult how otherwise to understand the strange elision of the seminal figure of Panangkaran.

Interestingly, the 'Carita Parahyangan Fragments', which are joined to the formal Carita Parahyangan in *kropak* 406 by mutual occupation of one of the middle *lontar*, provides an alternate, and confused, genealogy for Banga: *Maharaja* Trarusbawa — *Maharaja* Harisdarma — *Rahyang* Tampĕran — *Rahyang* Banga — *Rahyangta* Wuwus. The author of the Carita Parahyangan Fragments seems to have had a divergent understanding of Banga's descendents, as the Banga of the Fragments seems confused with a second Banga known to the Carita Parahyangan, who seems more proximate to the Rahyangta Wuwus. That said, one surmises that if Panangkaran finds representation anywhere in *kropak* 406, it is in the guise of 'Maharaja Harisdarma'. This guess, however, is rendered improbable by the reference to 'Maharaja Trarusbawa', who must then be Sañjaya in a completely novel and unattested guise. I consider it more likely (but completely unprovable!) that the Carita Parahyangan Fragments records the maternal Somavaṃśa rather than the paternal Śailendra lineage of Banga and Warak: the Maharaja Harisdarma in this scenario would then have been Dharmasetu, Somavaṃśa king of a neighboring Sundanese kingdom.

It is worth noting that the 'Carita Parahyangan Fragments' offer a list of post-Warak kings which differs from the succession provided by the Carita Parahyangan by the omission of several kings before reconvening with that of the Carita Parahyangan, which records the *Rahyangta* Wuwus at several generations' remove from Warak.

[24] Until the discovery of Wanua Tĕngah III, the Raka of Panaraban was known only by an alternate name, the Raka of Panunggalan. The Carita Parahyangan offers no explication which would help modern historians understand this alternance in *raka* titles. However, following the unproven working assumption of this paper that the Śailendra are indeed the kings descended from King Sañjaya, Panaraban would be the son of the renowned Killer, the father of Śrī Bālaputradeva, and husband of Tārā of the Lunar dynasty. It is possible that the title Panunggalan was minted as an honorific from the base word '*tunggal*', 'to unite', commemorating the unification of the Śailendra and the Somavaṃśa.

[25] The decision by the author of the Carita Parahyangan to remember Warak by his given name Manāra and other personages by the haphazard use of coronation names, personal names, *raka* titles, and apotheosis names seem to accord with an often puzzling admixture of names in the Central Javanese epigraphical sources. It is interesting that Sañjaya, Manāra, and Balitung are often designated by their given names, even though raka titles and apotheosis names are known for Mānāra, and both consecration names and a raka title are known for Balitung.

[26] I see the mistaken assumption that Śrī Vijaya was the name of the king rather than the name of a kingdom as further evidence that the author of the Carita Parahyangan was operating with genuine historical information which

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Panaraban at Sañjaya's urging[27]; and some possible hostility toward the former religion by Panaraban[28]. The general validity of all of these features should stimulate us to evaluate the plausibility of the Carita Parahyangan's claim that Warak launched a coup against his father Panaraban and managed to fracture the powerful Śailendra archipelagic polity which Sañjaya and Panangkaran had assembled. Although very little is directly known about Warak's reign in Java, I do believe that there is circumstantial corroborating evidence which suggests a coup and a fissure did occur:

First, the unified Śailendra archipelagic polity is explicitly finished by the time of Śrī Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarṇṇadvīpa. Bālaputradeva noted that his grandfather was King of Java, but Bālaputradeva did not claim this title or those lands: the Śailendra domain had split. Bālaputradeva seems to have shared the same lineage (son of the king whose marriage unified the houses of Śailendra and Soma, grandson of the feared and respected Killer) as Warak. Indeed, one wonders whether Bālaputradeva, who must have directed substantial military and financial assets if he were accorded such stature by the Pāla king Devapāladeva, was none other than the Sang Banga who opposed Warak's coup against Panaraban. Whatever the case, it should be noted that the kings who ruled Sumatra/Śrī Vijaya were definitely still of the ruling Śailendra dynasty, not members of the old local Sumatran nobility who had made good use of the chaos in Java to effect their independence: when the Śailendra polity fractured, it did so along a few neat lines, much like the empire of Alexander.

The second indicators which substantiate the notion that the Śailendra state fissured during Warak's time are the records of diplomatic missions to China. Missions were dispatched in 813, 815, 818, and 820 A.D., with the last mission informing the Chinese administrators that the formal name of Heling had reverted to Java. The change of the formal name of the kingdom might indicate that Warak had given up trying to recompose Panangkaran's empire and had accordingly decided to provide his kingdom with an appellation more realistically suited to the lands he actually controlled.

Third, I note the utter disappearance, from both South-east Asian epigraphical sources as well as the Chinese records, of the abundantly damning evidence of extensive Javanese naval marauding in

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he but poorly understood. Interestingly, this mistaken assumption about Śrī Vijaya as a royal name was also pursued by early European researchers into the history of Sumatra.

[27] We know from the inscription of WT3 that the younger brother of Sañjaya sponsored the vihāra at Pikatan, whose support fields at Wanua Tengah were endowed by King Panangkaran and withdrawn by King Warak.

The apotheosis name for Rakai Panaraban, 'Rahyang Tampĕran', provided by the Carita Parahyangan suggested to van der Meulen (1988:110) a king who had withdrawn himself for austerities, '*tampĕr*' meaning to 'precipitate out'.

[28] The Carita Parahyangan noted that Panaraban liked to destroy ascetics (*ngrusak nu ditapa*). There is no direct extant evidence which substantiates this claim, but in a prior paper (Sundberg 2003), I examined a golden vajra-foil which was inscribed with the mantra '*oṃ ṭakkī hūṃ jaḥ svāhā*'. This cardinal mantra was used in the early Buddhist yoga tantric myths of the taming of Śiva, and I noted that the use of this mantra could not be considered benign by Śaiva elements of the court. In the superior circle of the ī-token, the word '*panarabwan*' or '*panarabban*' was incised. The inscription was unearthed on the Ratu Boko plateau, which was indisputably undergoing construction during King Panaraban's reign, and bears paleographic characteristics which also suggest a dating to his reign. Accordingly, I believe that the inscription could only refer to the Panaraban of history.

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the last third of the prior century. The abrupt cessation of Śailendra maritime aggression suggests either that the kings of Java had unaccountably lost their taste for the fruits of their raiding successes, or that their naval capability had suddenly dissipated. The most remarkable change in the geopolitical situation in South-east Asia during the time when Rakai Warak dyaḥ Manāra instigated his coup against King Panaraban is the action of the great Cambodian hero Jayavarman II, who reunited the Khmer lands and stood up the Khmer people. I personally find it intriguing to note that in 802 A.D. Jayavarman declared the independence of his people, holding a ceremony to invoke supernatural forces so that 'Javā' might no longer oppress his holy Cambodia[29]. Indeed, Jayavarman may have been acutely attuned to the opportunities presented by the dynamics and dissensions of Panaraban's court, as he was held as a hostage in Java during his youth: he probably knew Warak and Panaraban personally. I envision that a dramatic dissolution of Javanese power like a civil war would be exactly the context in which an ambitious notable like Jayavarman could make a move to secure his country's independence.

Finally, there is evidence of financial strain during Warak's period which is not manifest in the prior reigns. Indeed, we would expect that Warak's loss of the lucrative Malay straits trade routes would have impoverished him. We know from the inscription of Wanua Tengah III that Warak had withdrawn Panangkaran's tax exemptions from at least the fields of Wanua Tengah, and perhaps financial desperation induced Warak cancel all of the royal sīma privileges of the Buddhist vihāras in his domain[30]. However, van der Meulen (1988:110) noted that seven *lempir* of the Carita Parahyangan are devoted to a brother-king named Seuweukarma, who, at every turn, seemed to hinder and subvert Sañjaya. It appears that Seuweukarma ruled in the area of Arile (Kuningan) and has his *kedatwan* (bawana) in Liman Putih, and that Sañjaya had but a tenuous hold on some sections of Sunda, possibly controlling it via the intermediation of a kinking[31]. Given the epigraphical remark about Warak's anger (we may recall that we were given a glimpse of the historical Warak in the

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[29] At least three extant Cambodian inscriptions refer to the Jayavarman's ceremonial efforts to free Cambodia from the dominating hand of 'Javā' and have a *cakravartīn* of its own. It is not clear whether the ceremony was undertaken only once or in a number of places. Choulean (1996:117-120) provides a fuller discussion of this issue.

[30] The number of extant royal inscriptions rises dramatically after the reign of Rakai Pikatan (r. 847-855), who was the last of the kings to have withdrawn sīma exemptions from the Wanua Tengah fields. One surmises from the number of inscriptions that Pikatan, and possibly Warak before him, enforced a widespread withdrawal of privileges, which would have necessitated the destruction of the inscribed sīma boundary pillars.

One indicator that Warak's sīma withdrawals were widespread is the subsequent rise of serious curses invoked in inscriptions upon people who abrogated sīma provisions.

Another indicator that Warak's financial situation had deteriorated is the impoverished nature of the religious edifices erected during his reign. I have argued (Sundberg 2006) that the great stūpa at Borobudur was situated within Warak's watak and constructed largely during his reign. It is possible that a collapsed financial position necessitated the inferior stone statuary of Borobudur, whereas Warak's predecessors established fine statuary of precious metal in their temples on the Prambanan plain. Despite his lack of precious metal, Warak still had access to the same local labor pool which had constructed the immense Sewu complex in a prior generation.

[31] It is possible that Banga used this Sunda-Java tension to his advantage when organizing forces to contest Warak's coup.

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Sanskrit quotation from Garung's original order to restore the tax support for the Pikatan vihara, the earlier withdrawal of the support is noted to have been instigated *narendreṇa manārākhyeṇa rāgiṇā*, 'by the Lord of Men named Manāra, the One Who is Angry'), it is not out of the question that Warak's opponents were descendents of the *Rahyangta* i Hara, younger sibling of Sañjaya, and he wrathfully sought to punish them by retracting royal support for their ancestor's merit-monastery.

In conclusion, I believe that this essay demonstrates that the author of the Carita Parahyangan honestly and accurately conveyed what his historical sources reflected of the kings of Sundanese Java, who from the period of Senna and Sañjaya widened their rule into Central Java as well. This Javanese hegemony lasted until Warak's imprisonment of his father Panaraban, which seems to have opened a cascade of resistance and deterioration, including an open feud with his brother and demonstrably different lines of succession in the Sundanese and Central Javanese lands. My surmise is that the Śailendra empire rose to unchallengeable maritime dominance in the middle of the eighth century and enjoyed perhaps six golden decades in the sun. The Carita Parahyangan indicates that the Śailendra construction fell apart on Warak after he dared a coup against his father.

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Ratu Kidul and Maṇimekhalā
Relations between South India and Java

Michaela Appel

Introduction

The dangerous and rather inaccessible south coast of Java is dotted with special places for the veneration of Nyai or Kangjeng Ratu Kidul, the Queen of the Southern Ocean.[1] Allegedly she is the ruler of all the spirits of Java, the owner of the fish in the sea, the birds in the air, and in control of the winds. The main places of veneration are the villages of Parang Tritis and Parang Kusumo to the south of Yogyakarta, which are visited by pilgrims, especially on the days of Selasa or Jumat Kliwon, who make offerings and meditate there to gain her blessing and favours. Since the 1960s a special room has been reserved for the goddess in the Samudra Beach Hotel in Pelabuhan Ratu in West Java, and more recently also in the Bali Beach Hotel in Sanur. Places like Cilacap or Karang Bolong are important for fishermen or gatherers of birds' nests in natural caves on the coast line, who are dependent on her protection and make regular offerings to the sea (*sedekah laut*).[2]

The ruler of all the spirits of Java, Ratu Kidul is also indirectly related to the land, to the volcanoes of Java and especially to Mount Merapi, located to the northeast of Yogyakarta, and to Kyai Sapujagad, the *raja* of the mountain. Older people say they had learned early to associate the Ratu with fresh and salt water on hearing her spirit army, called *lampor*, travelling upstream along the Opak or Condé Rivers from the southern shore through Yogyakarta to Mount Merapi accompanied by the terrifying noise of slit drums (*kentongan*) which were used as a warning against approaching tidal waves or spring tides in coastal and in river villages as well.[3] Thus Ratu Kidul seems to have a customary right to the sea and the beaches, but is also associated with the rivers, the mountains and the land in between.[4]

Ratu Kidul and Panembahan Senapati

Above all Ratu Kidul is known as "king maker", the divine spouse and the protector of the rulers of Java and first mentioned as such in the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, the court chronicle of Mataram, dating

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[1] Schlehe lists eight places in Java (from west to east), namely Pelabuhan Ratu, Pangandaran, Cilacap, Karang Bolong, Parang Tritis, Baron, Rongkop, Blambangan, and one on Bali: Sanur (Schlehe 1998:28, map 1), while the situation in Puger, in East Java, is described by Wessing (1997b).

[2] Calier 1853; Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië 1918:535; Cock Wheatley 1931; Lombard 1972; Guillot 1982; Jordaan 1984; Wessing 1997a; Schlehe 1998:197-207.

[3] Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië 1918:535; Cock Wheatley 1931:205-206; Hadiwidjojo 1972:128-129; Epton 1974:188-189; Lombard 1980:220; Resink 1982:98-99; Chandra 1995:204; Resink 1997:314-316; Wessing 1997a:111-112; 1997b:100, note 7; Schlehe 1998:148-149.

[4] Hageman 1853:68-69; Resink 1990:13; Resink 1997:315-316;

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from the first half of the 17th century.[5] When Panembahan Senapati, the founder of the Islamic state of Mataram[6] in Central Java who reigned between 1575 and 1601, tried to consolidate his power, he went to sleep on the shining stone (*sela gilang*) of Lipura south of Yogyakarta, where he received divine revelation (*wahyu*) in the form of a falling star (*andaru* or *pulung*). His uncle and teacher, Kyai Juru Martani, advised him to look for further signs of divine legitimation. In this context it is rarely mentioned that he sent Senapati to the shore of the Southern Ocean, while he himself went to the summit of Mount Merapi,[7] indicating that the "Javanese rulers had to assure themselves of authority over the land (*tanah, bumi, siti*) and the water (*banyu, toya, tirta*) and thus over the state (*tanahair*)" (Resink 1997:315).

On the waters of the Opak River, Senapati was carried to the southern shore where his intense meditation caused a natural upheaval. The waves of the sea became as high as mountains and the water boiling hot. Fishes were thrown against the rocks and killed. The queen who resides in the Southern Ocean emerged from her submarine palace, paid homage to Senapati and promised that all his wishes would be granted. He and his descendants would be the rulers of Java and all the spirits of Java (*jinn, peri, prayangan*) would be under Senapati's command and assist him in fighting his enemies. When Senapati heard Ratu Kidul's words he was very pleased. The ocean calmed down and the creatures of the sea were restored to life. He followed her to her palace and enjoyed the pleasures of love with her for three days and three nights. At the same time she taught him the right conduct of a king who rules over humans and the spirits of Java and she told him how he could contact her when he needed her help, before he returned via Parang Tritis to Mataram.

Ratu Kidul is also mentioned in her relation to Senapati's grandson, Sultan Agung (1616-1645), who had expanded the kingdom of Mataram and ordered the transfer of the royal palace (*kraton*) from Kuṭa Geḍé to Karta. Allegedly he had two palaces: one in the town of Karta, the other in the South Sea, where his wife Nyai Rara Kidul resided. It seems that at the time Sultan Agung moved his palace to Karta, a special ritual was performed on the beach of Parang Tritis. Special objects were cast into the sea as offerings (*labuhan*) to Ratu Kidul, and this is repeated each time a new ruler ascends the throne and is supposedly united in marriage with the spirit queen (Ras 1987:349-350).

Maṇimekhalā and Āputra

Lokesh Chandra (1995:198) brings to notice that Ratu Kidul is reminiscent of the South Indian goddess Maṇimekhalā, "jewel waist-girdle", who must have been worshipped as the city-goddess (*nagara-devatā*) of Kāñci. This complex of beliefs may have been transferred by Indian migrations across the sea not only to Cambodia — where she is known as Po Nagar[8] — but also to Java.

[5] *Babad Tanah Jawi* (1941) 1987:79-83; Jordaan 1984:99; Florida 1992:23; Schlehe 1998:48-51.

[6] Historically, there were two kingdoms of Mataram on Java: 'Old' Mataram or Mataram I, a Hindu-Buddhist polity during the 8th to 10th centuries and 'New' Mataram or Mataram II, which was an Islamic kingdom founded in the 16th century (Chandra 1995:198; Wessing 1997b:337, note 1).

[7] Ricklefs 1974:398-399; Resink 1982:98-99, note 7; Schlehe 1996:395; 1998:48-49.

[8] Due to limitations of space I cannot elaborate upon the goddess Po Nagar or the skin disease and snake character of Ratu Kidul (for more information on these topics, see Jordaan 1984, 1987).

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The Indian goddess of the sea, Maṇimekhalā, first figures in two Jātakas, the *Saṃkha* Jātaka (No. 442) and the *Mahājanaka* Jātaka (No. 539). Herein she saves both the rich and generous Brahmin Saṃkha and the Prince Mahājanaka from shipwreck, on their way to *Suvarṇabhūmi* (Sumatra or Java) to gain wealth and riches there.[9]

She also appears in two Tamil epics which probably date from the 2nd century CE, the Shilappadikaram, "The ankle bracelet", by Prince Ilangō Adigal and in the story of *Maṇimekhalaï*, "The dancer with the magic bowl" by Merchant-prince Shattan. In these epics with strong Buddhist connotations, Maṇimekhalā is the goddess of the ocean (Daniélou 1989:21, 22). She is the protector of the city of Puhār (Kāverīpuṃpaṭṭinam), but at the same time has the power to destroy the city, because its king, Vadivel Killi, had forgotten to celebrate the festival of Indra (Daniélou 1989:108-109, 120). She is also the guardian deity of ship-owners and merchants. When an illegitimate girl was born to young Kōvalan, a member of family of ship owners, he decided to name her after the goddess Maṇimekhalā:

"One of my ancestors was on a ship that sank during the night in the middle of the ocean. He had numerous noble deeds to his credit and found in them the strength to remain afloat several days. The goddess of the Sea then appeared to him and said, 'I come at the bidding of Indra, king of the gods. People call me Precious-Girdle (Mani-mêkalai). Do not fear! The merits of your good actions have not been lost: they shall help you to cross the vast ocean of pain.' And she saved him, leading him to the shore. This goddess has long been the divinity who protects my clan. I want her name to be given to the infant" (Daniélou 1967:4, 99; 1989:151).

Soon afterwards the goddess Maṇimekhalā predicted in a dream to Mādhavī, the mother of the girl, who was a dancer, that "she had brought into the world a child destined for a life of asceticism and renunciation, who would deliver the world from great distress and destroy the power of the god of passions so completely that he would remain without strength and disoccupied" (Daniélou 1989:31, 151).

After Maṇimekhalaï had grown up, the goddess Maṇimekhalā brought her to the island of Maṇipallavam to the south of Puhār, where she enabled her to recall the memory of her previous life and taught her highly effective *mantra*, by which she could change her appearance, travel through the air and eliminate pangs of hunger (Daniélou 1989:35-43). During her stay on this island Maṇimekhalaï received a magic begging bowl called Amṛta Surabhi, "Cow of Abundance", which once belonged to Āputra. She was told "that this magic bowl will only be filled in the hands of those whose charity, the fruit of their past virtues, is sincere. [...] Only those who distribute food out of pure charity, expecting no return, are protectors of life in this world, which is but a temporary assembly of atoms" (Daniélou 1986:46-47).

Āputra was the son of an outcast Brahmin woman, who was abandoned as a new born baby and looked after by a cow for seven days before he was adopted by a childless Brahmin couple. Saving

[9] Cowell (1895) 1973, IV:9-13; VI:19-37; see also Lévy 1930.

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a cow from being slaughtered as an offering, he was accused as a cow-thief and driven away from the village. Having no means of subsistence, Āputra went to the rich city of Madura in the south and installed himself in the precinct of the Temple of Lakṣmī. Each day he begged with his begging bowl before the dwellings of the rich and afterwards distributed what he had collected to the poor, the blind, the deaf, the infirm, the orphans, and the sick, keeping for himself only the remains. He lived like that for many years. One night he was dismayed at not being able to feed a group of people who were dying of hunger. Suddenly the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī, appeared before him: "Take this bowl and your desires shall be fulfilled. Even should the whole land be devastated by famine and all its shores exhausted, this bowl will always be filled with the most exquisite food, in such large quantities that the recipients' hands will hardly be able to bear its weight. This magic bowl will never fail so long as it remains in the hands of one who deserves such a gift". From that day on Āputra "saved thousands of lives, tirelessly distributing mountains of food" (Daniélou 1989:56).

The news of Āputra's meritorious acts finally reached the dwelling of Indra, the king of the gods. After he had tried in vain to seduce Āputra, "who had become the real protector of all living beings over a vast area of the earth" (1989:57), he decided to make the bowl useless by freeing the world from hunger. During the previous twelve years the rains had failed to fall and many people had died. Returning to his paradise, Indra made such abundant rain fall that the earth produced several harvests a year. Prosperity became so great that no creature in the world lacked anything and nobody knew what it meant to suffer hunger.

Āputra understood that there was no longer need for practising charity. One day he met some travellers disembarking from a ship coming from the isle of Java (Sāvakam), who told him, that in their country the rain had not fallen and many had died. He decided to depart for Java, joining a group of travellers who were leaving for that distant island by ship. During the voyage, the ship was overtaken by a great storm and called at the island of Maṇipallavam, where Āputra was left behind and died.

He was reborn from the womb of a cow on a high white mountain, the Dhavalamalaï, on the island of Java, in the comfortable dwelling of the famous ascetic Manmukhan, who possessed the vision of past, present and future events. He knew it was the same cow that had looked after Āputra for seven days in his past life. Having been reborn in Java, the cow would give birth to a hero and due to his beneficent influence, the rains would henceforth be abundant, the earth's fertility increasing and the duration of life prolonged. Although conceived by her, the child would not be delivered from her womb, but emerge from a golden-shelled egg.[10]

At that time, the king reigning in Java was Bhūmichandra. Long worrying about having no heir, he had come to take counsel from the sage Manmukhan. The holy man entrusted him with the

[10] The fact that Āputra was born and looked after by a cow and that the begging bowl is called Amṛta Surabhi, might refer to the cow Surabhi which symbolizes the *dharma* and is the bearer and protector of the universe. In the Kṛtayuga she stands securely on all four legs but looses one leg every consecutive *Yuga*. In the *Kaliyuga* she stands on one leg only, and the world is scattered because the cow has been rendered powerless (Sindhunata 1992:268).

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precious boy born of the cow and who was thus raised in the palace and ultimately inherited the throne and became king (Daniélou 1989:57-59).

After Maṇimekhalaï had learnt about the former owner of the magic bowl, she decided to visit Āputra's kingdom and travelled through the air to Java. There she landed to rest in an orchard of flowering trees, where the ascetic Dharma Śrāvaka lived. Questioning him about the town and the king, the ascetic replied: "This city is called Nāga-puram, and the king who reigns there is the virtuous Punya Rāja, son of Bhūmichandra. Since the day of the king's accession, the clouds in the sky have always produced generous rains. The soil is fertile and the fruits abundant. All who live in the city are free from the diseases that install themselves in the body and make it suffer" (Daniélou 1989:112).

When Maṇimekhalaï met King Punya Rāja she invited him to the island of Maṇipallavam: "King! Wearer of a garland of bright flowers! ... I went to seek you far away in your own land and brought you to this island solely to allow you to learn about your former life and enable you to reign with greater charity, establishing your fame over your great island as well as over the four continents and the myriads of smaller islands surrounded by the ocean. If the kings who govern this vast world follow the way of the *dharma*, there would be no more problems, since the common people would no longer commit any offence. If you wish to know what the *dharma* is and how to follow the way of wisdom, listen carefully to what I am going to tell you and forget nothing! There is no higher virtue than charity, which consists of making sure that no living being lacks food, clothing, and a place to live in safety".

The king replied: "O girl with the charming brow! I will try to apply these principles in my realm and in other lands. I will essay to follow the path of charity you have described. By revealing my former life you have made a new man of me" (Daniélou 1989:121).

Let us recapitulate the essential points of the story of Maṇimekhalaï. On the one hand there is Maṇimekhalā, the goddess of the sea, who has the power to destroy kingdoms by the waves of the sea. On the other there is the girl Maṇimekhalaï, who is named after this goddess and is destined to live an ascetic life. She has the ability to change her appearance and fly through the air and acquired a magic bowl yielding abundant food. Maṇimekhalaï goes to Java and there — like Ratu Kidul — instructs the king of Java in state craft.

Cemara Tunggal and Raden Susuruh

In the *Babad Tanah Jawi* is mentioned an earlier manifestation of Ratu Kidul and Panembahan Senopati in the form of a Princess and a Prince of the West Javanese kingdom of Pajajaran (1333-1579), bearing the names of respectively Cemara Tunggal and Raden Susuruh. Cemara Tunggal refused to marry all the suitors proposed to her, secretly leaving the city of Pajajaran and going to Mount Kombang to meditate. There she became known as the male (!) hermit or sage Ajar Cemara Tunggal, so named after a single *cemara* tree[11] growing there. Cemara Tunggal could predict future events and was the ruler of all the spirits of the island of Java. Ajar Cemara Tunggal told Raden Susuruh to go eastward until he found a *maja* tree with a single fruit with bitter (*pahit*) taste, an

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allusion to his future kingdom, Majapahit. From this place he would subjugate all the kings of Java, and get his revenge on the king of Pajajaran. In Raden Susuruh's presence Ajar Cemara Tunggal changed back into a beautiful woman; when he tried to seize her she turned into the hermit again which made him beg for her forgiveness. She said that on his becoming the king over the whole of Java she would move to a sea of sand (*seganten wedi*), i.e. the crater of a volcano,[12] and become ruler of all the spirits. Later she would establish a *kraton* at Pamantingan, subordinate to Raden Susuruh. The descendants of Raden Susuruh would have their *kraton* north of Pamantingan and south of Mount Merapi. And whoever became the supreme king of Java would marry Ajar Cemara Tunggal. Finally, Ajar Cemara Tunggal offered Raden Susuruh the help of her spirit army in times of trouble and he departed to found Majapahit as predicted. Undoubtedly Cemara Tunggal is an earlier representation of Ratu Kidul, as Pamantingan is the old name of the village Parangkusumo which is thought to be situated at the entrance to the palace of Ratu Kidul.[13] Moreover she has some of the above mentioned traits of Maṇimekhalaï.

Jaka Tarub and Nawang Wulan

Another relevant episode in the *Babad Tanah Jawi* concerns rice. One day a young man, Jaka Tarub, while hunting in the forest, saw a number of *widadari* bathing. He hid behind some bushes and stole the dress of one of the heavenly nymphs, Dewi Nawang Wulan. She could not fly back to heaven without this supernatural garment, called Antakusuma, and was forced to remain on earth. She married Jaka Tarub and bore him a daughter. One day, Dewi Nawang Wulan wished to go to the river to do the washing. She asked her husband to look after the rice that was cooking on the fire, but told him specifically not to lift the lid and look in the pot. During her absence he began to think about the fact that he had supplied his wife some time ago with a single barn of rice, but the amount of rice did not seem to have decreased. Jaka Tarub wished to know how much rice was being cooked and lifted the lid of the kettle. There was only one single grain in the steam basket. This action destroyed Dewi Nawang Wulan's secret of cooking endless rice. She became like any other wife and had to pound rice every day. Eventually all the rice in the barn was used up, but to her surprise she found her

[11] Casuarina Junghuhniana or Casuarina montana? (see Kumar 1992:260, note 1).

[12] Kumar translates *seganten weḍi* and the Dutch "*zandzee*" as "desert", but "zandzee" in this case means the "sandy plain in the crater of an inactive volcano out of which other smaller craters have came up", such as at Mount Bromo.

[13] Babad Tanah Jawi (1941) 1987:16-17; Kumar 1992:260-261; Schlehe 1998:45-46; see also Hadiwidjojo 1972:126; Bogaerts 1990:12-15. The actual history of the kingdom of Pajajaran is obscure. Apparently it was, in Javanese eyes, a place of particular spiritual significance. Pajajaran/Batavia ruled the high mountains of West Java, the "Priangan" as it is known today. Ricklefs thinks that this toponym is derived from *parahyangan* or *prayangan*, which means "the (abode of the) spirits". Thus it was apparently a place associated with the spirit world of Java, which was dominated by the authority of the Queen of the Southern Ocean (Ricklefs 1974:375). Wessing sees the West Javanese kingdom of Galuh and its successor state of Pajajaran as the land of the actual and spiritual female ancestors, from which the rulers of Majapahit and later Mataram II descended. He points out, that Galuh claimed to rule all of Java through four regents (Pleyte 1916:541) and he cites Ekadjati (1984:82) who says that according to the *Carita Parahyangan* Sañjaya of Mataram I ruled from Galuh which was founded early in the eighth century (Wessing 1997b:327-332). This would fit Lokesh Chandra's idea that the concept of Lara Kidul on Java goes back to the times of Sañjaya (Chandra 1995:198).

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garment Antakusuma on the floor of the empty barn. Immediately she dressed herself with the coat, thus restoring her supernatural power (*sekti*). She flew away and returned to the abode of the gods. Her daughter, Nawangsih,[14] later married Raden Bondan Kejawan, an adopted son of Prabu Brawijaya, the last ruler of Majapahit, and their grandchild, Ki Ageng Sela, was the grandfather of Ki Pamanahan, who fathered Panembahan Senopati, the first ruler of Mataram.[15]

In the *Babad Demak* the story of Nawang Wulan is combined with the story of Kangjeng Ratu Kidul. Here Nawang Wulan finds her hidden clothes but does not return to heaven because of her marriage to Jaka Tarub, bearing him a daughter, Nawangsih. Instead she becomes the "minister of the interior" (*patih nyero*) of the Queen of the Southern Ocean under the name of Nyai Rara Kidul. This explains both figures, the Ratu and her *patih*, are often identified.[16] According to G.J. Resink (1997), Dewi Sri, the rice goddess, is the first divine spouse of the Sultans of Yogyakarta, and Kangjeng Ratu Kidul the second. The nature of the relationship of the two goddesses, however, remains enigmatic, in spite of the detection by several scholars of very striking similarities between Ratu Kidul and Dewi Sri.[17]

Labuhan Dalem Ageng and Garebeg Mulud Dal

The *kraton* of Yogyakarta, which was designed in stages between 1756 and 1790 by Sultan Hamengkubowono I, was built more or less equidistant from the mountains and the sea. To the north of the palace lies the realm of Kyai Sapujagad that is centred in Mount Merapi, to the south lies Segara Kidul, the southern Ocean, with the palace of Ratu Kidul at Pamancingan. To the east lies Gunung Lawu ruled by Kyai Sunan Lawu, to the west near Wonogiri lies Dlepih inhabited by Sang Hyang Pramoni (Schlehe 1996:396, Fig. 4, 400).[18] According to the *Serat Centhini* Dlepih is another meeting place of Senapati and Ratu Kidul. It is inhabited by Ratu Dlepih, the daughter of Ratu Kidul, who is also married to Senopati (Brakel 1997:274-277). The revitalization of the relationship between the *kraton*, the mountains, and the sea is enacted in the *labuhan* ceremonies of the Sultan of Yogyakarta. Labuhan Dalem Alit takes place every year on the south coast at Parangkusumo, at Mount Merapi and Mount Lawu respectively, while every eight years, in the year Dal, during Labuhan Dalem Ageng an additional ceremony is carried out at the waterfall and pond of

[14] Nawang Wulan and Nawangsih (from Nawang Sasih) "moon maiden" (Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata 1993:58, note 11) and Ratu Kidul are all related to the moon. Ratu Kidul is said to be regularly changing from a young to an old woman according to the waxing and waning of the moon (Jordaan 1997:300; Ricklefs 1974:200).

[15] Babad Tanah Jawi (1941) 1987:25-33; Schlehe 1998:46-48; Kumar 1992:261-262; Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata 1988:32; 1993:52-53.

[16] Groneman 1895:56; Bigeon 1982:121; Kumar 1992:264-265; Schlehe 1998:47-48.

[17] Cock Wheatley (1931:209) refers to a local legend in which Trisnawati, the goddess of dry rice, introduces herself as "a sister of Ratu Loro Kidul." C.C. Berg (1955:375) sees Nyai Lara Kidul as "the maritime version of Dewi Sri". Apart from the "family resemblances" between Ratu Kidul and Dewi Sri, some authors have also pointed to similarities with the Hindu goddess Durgā (Schrieke 1925:286; Pigeaud 1962:211; Jordaan 1984:101; Brakel 1997) and with the Buddhist goddess Tārā (Jordaan 1997).

[18] See also Schrieke 1925:286; Hadiwidjojo 1972:129; Bigeon 1982:117, note 1. Wonogiri lies actually to the east of Yogyakarta, southwest of Mount Lawu.

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Dlepih Kahyangan near Wonogiri. The offerings cast into the sea (*labuhan*) and also the ones left on the mountains and near the waterfall have been listed by several authors; they consist of incense, perfumed oil, wilted flowers used in ceremonies during the year, hair and fingernail clippings and used clothes of the Sultan, as well as a considerable amount of new clothes.[19] The words uttered by the custodian before the offerings are committed to the sea run as follows: "Gracious Lady Ratu Kidul, by your leave I present the offerings from your grandson His Highness the ... Sultan of Yogyakarta Adiningrat. Your grandson entreats your blessing for his well-being, long life, the glory of his reign and the safety of his realm, Yogyakarta Adiningrat" (Adam (1930) 2003:77).

Similar words are spoken during the three annual *garebeg* celebrations in the prayers over the offerings "for the health of his Highness, for the glory of his Highness' reign, for the permanence of his Highness' kraton, for long life for his Highness and for peace and order within his Highness' realm" (Tirtakoesoema (1932) 2003:124; Groneman 1895:34-35). Nowadays Garebeg Mulud is a court ceremony to commemorate the significant Islamic event of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, but Pigeaud thought that initially it was related to the 14th century Phālguna-Caitra festival of the kingdom of Majapahit. The said festival was celebrated in February or March, at the time of the West monsoon and the planting of rice seedlings (Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:209). Indeed, the *garebeg* are an occasion whereby the ruler appears in public to send a number of huge rice and vegetable mountains (*gunungan*) to the mosque as offerings, to be afterwards distributed among the people.[20] Like the Labuhan Ageng Dalem ceremonies, the celebration called Garebeg Mulud Dal every eight years is very special. Only on this occasion the Sultan is served rice which has been cooked by female attendants of noble birth (*nyahi ariya*) in a sacred copper rice pot called Kyai Berekat "the Blessed One". From the rice in this pot the Sultan kneads rice balls, which are then served to the princes, the chief minister and the regents, while a few are taken back to the *kraton* in the Ardawalika, a snake-shaped vessel which is part of the Yogyakarta regalia, to be offered to the ladies of the court. This sacred pot is said to be of great age and to have once belonged to Sunan Kalijaga,

[19] Adam (1930) 2003:76-77; (1940) 2003; Bigeon 1982:121-123; Schlehe 1996:400; 1998:275-277; Brakel 1997:266-279. Due to limitations of space I just refer to the ceremonies of the Sultan of Jogyakarta here, although similar ceremonies are conducted by the court of Surakarta. Offerings of clothes and food are also necessary for the court dances of Surakarta and Yogyakarta in honor of Ratu Kidul, the Bedhoyo Ketawang and the Bedhoyo Semang. These are said to go back to the times of Sultan Agung and Hamengkubuwono I and Hamengkubuwono II, respectively. Like the *labuhan* ceremonies, they are performed to ensure the continued well-being of the realm through appeals to the beneficence and protection of Ratu Kidul and the renewal of her alliance with the ruler (Hosteler 1982:134, 139; Tirtaamidjaja 1967:59-61; Brakel 1997:268-270; Schlehe 1998:226-229, 277-278). In 1758-59 Hamengkubuwono I also built the water castle of Taman Sari to the south and west of the *kraton*. Its most remarkable building, the Sumur Gumuling, which was only accessible by an underground passage, is said to have served as a stage for the sacred court dances and as a meeting place of the Sultan with Ratu Kidul. The building of Taman Sari, which was fed by the river Condé and thus had a direct connection with the southern ocean and with the goddess, was an important step in establishing the Sultan's legitimacy as a successor of the rulers of Mataram (Groneman 1885:430; Bosboom 1902:528; Lombard 1969:154, 170-172; Ricklefs 1974:84-85).

[20] There are six different types of mountains of food (*gunungan*) consisting of small multicoloured cakes made of rice over a framework of bamboo which vary in shape and composition — also as regards the types and number of rice cakes. Some are thought to be male (*gunungan lanang*) and some are female (*gunungan wadon*). 'The burning' or

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one of the Muslim saints (*wali*) in Java. It is said to possess the supernatural power to feed a lot of people in times of famine on the basis of very little rice that is cooked in it. Allegedly this has been done repeatedly during the reign of Sultan Agung in the 17th century (Gericke and Roorda 1875: 988).[21] Additionally during the Garebeg Mulud Dal ceremonies the Sultan wore a special gala-jacket called Kyai Antakusuma, which consisted of triangular pieces of cloth sewn together. It is said to have belonged to the first Sultan, and was treasured as a sacred heirloom.[22] According to Hooykaas (1956) the tradition of the Kyai Antakusuma goes back to the Old Javanese poem *Arjunawiwāha* dating from the 11th century. In this poem we read that as a reward for his exploits Arjuna is given the power and the glory of Indra for seven days. He was seated on a lion-throne made of jewels and given the crown and other ornaments of the King of the Gods. As a garment he wore "the skin dropped by Ananta, beautifully scaly in colours of blue precious stones and fresh hare's blood" (Hooykaas 1956:313). Anantabhoga is the snake-god of the underworld, who can leave his snake-skin behind to change into human form, and his daughter, who came forth from his tears, is Dewi Nagagini or Dewi Pohaci, the rice goddess, who is Dewi Nawang Wulan in another incarnation. The preachers of Islam in Indonesia had to convert the heathen skin. So a legend was created that after the building of the mosque of Demak, the jacket Antakusuma came down from heaven, wrapped in a goat's skin, in the midst of the congregation of *wali*. Sunan Kalijaga, the *wali* who became the owner of the jacket, later gave it to Senapati, who wore it at the siege of Madiun. That meant that the jacket Antakusuma, which made a Javanese king into the cosmic ruler he should be, was not anymore a garment stolen from a heavenly nymph, but a gift from the Prophet Muhammad to his believers (Hooykaas 1956:314), in the same way as the Kyai Berekat, the sacred copper rice pot of the Sultan.

'smoking' mountain (*gunungan kutug* or *kukus*) is made only every eight years at the occasion of Garebeg Mulud Dal. It is a conical mountain of food which has got an opening in the top into which a burning incense container is placed, so that it looks as if smoke ascends from the crater of a volcano. It could refer to an active volcano like Mount Merapi or Mount Lawu which might have been related to the cosmic mountain Meru or it may refer to the fame and importance of the kingdom as it is expressed in the standard opening of a *wayang* play "great is its torch, radiant is its realm, high-rising its smoke, far-reaching its fame" (*gede obore, padang jagade, duwur kukuse, adoh kuncarane*) (Moertono (1968) 1981:61; Lind 1974: 30, note 23; Groneman 1895:33, 49; Tirtakoesoema (1932) 2003:119).

[21] See also Groneman 1895:54; Tirtakoesoema (1932) 2003:124; Lind 1974:32. At the same occasion of Garebeg Mulud Dal, the Susuhunan of Surakarta and his wife ritually cook rice for the people in a sacred rice steamer called Kyai Duda, "the Venerable Widower", a symbolic act which obviously has the auspicious meaning of guaranteeing an abundance of rice (Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:209; Lind 1974:32; Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata 1984:80-81).

[22] Portraits of Hamengkubuwono V (r. 1822-1855) and Hamengkubuwono VII (r. 1899-1921) wearing such a jacket are reproduced in Galestin 1944:afb. 3 and Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata 1993: Fig.2 and Fig. 5. The Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam now owns the jacket in which Sultan Hamengubuwono VII posed for that photograph. It was obtained by the Dutch scholar Th.P. Galestin in 1938 in Yogyakarta. He bought it from a Javanese member of the court, who claimed its possession by inheritance. Galestin made sure that there was no objection from court officials and from Pangeran Tedjakusuma, the son of Hamengkubuwono VII. One of the reasons was that from HamengkubuwonoVII onwards the ceremonial garb became a dark velvet jacket, updated to the style of other colonial officials of the time (Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata 1993:54). In her article about "The Rainbow in Indonesian Religion" (1956), Jacoba Hooykaas used Prof. Galestin's notes on the Kyai Antakusuma jacket. Groneman reports that during the Garebeg Mulud Dal the jacket of the first Sultan is carried in a covered box in the procession (1895:49).

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It seems possible, in my opinion, that the South Indian sea goddess Maṇimekhalā was identified with Cemara Tunggal and Ratu Kidul, while Maṇimekhalaï, the girl with the sacred bowl of abundant food, was identified with figures like Nawang Wulan and Dewi Sri. Both of these wives as representatives of sea and land and as protectors against natural disasters like tidal waves, earthquakes or famine were important for the legitimation of the king and for guaranteeing the prosperity of his realm.

Present-day beliefs among the Javanese

The recent occurrence of several natural disasters comprising of volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and tsunamis have revitalized the old myths and mystical beliefs about the relationship of the court of Yogyakarta with Ratu Kidul and Mount Merapi. According to Judith Schlehe (1996), who documented the reactions of the people at the time, the southward direction of the lava flow from Mount Merapi in November 1994 was interpreted as a particularly bad omen as the task of Kyai Sapujagad, the spirit ruler of Mount Merapi, to ensure that the lava never flowed towards the *kraton* of Yogyakarta. Local people put the blame for the disaster on the present ruler of Yogyakarta, Hamengkubuwono X. His apparent inability to procure supernatural, cosmic power is also used to explain the corruption and moral degeneration of the people. Lacking in spiritual power, the ruler might thus lose his political power as well.

Similar opinions were heard after the earthquake in Bantul in Central Java in May 2006 that was preceded by a long period of increased activity of Mount Merapi and followed by an earthquake further to the west, off the southern coast near Pangandaran, which caused a tsunami. As the district of Bantul lies between the kraton of Yogyakarta and the southern shore some people believed that the epicentre of the quake, lying exactly at the confluence of the rivers Opak and Oyo, had a mythical significance. After the earthquake many people talked about a conflict between tradition and modernity, and that Javanese traditions had been neglected and needed to be revived. Some talked about a conflict between Merapi and the Southern Ocean, whereas others thought the relationship of the two spheres was basically harmonious, but that the natural disturbances were admonitions about the present Sultan Hamengkubuwono X. While his kraton was hardly damaged, the collapse of Trayumas, a hall used for storing sacred family heirlooms, was seen as an inauspicious sign. The kraton as the centre of the realm should never have been affected in the first place. The remains of the walls of Trayumas were ritually buried at Parangkusumo during the *labuhan* ceremony in August 2006.

On a national level, however, it was the current President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who was held responsible for the earthquake. Many people thought he should step down as President, because it seemed evident that he lacked divine inspiration or legitimacy (*wahyu*). Actually, too many disasters had happened since the time of his election in October 2004: the tsunami in Aceh, the Bali bombings, SARS, rise of fuel prices, bird flu, mud flow in East Java (Schlehe 2006:225-229; 2008:216-220).

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Conclusion

In my opinion the story of the South Indian sea goddess Maṇimekhalā and the hermit girl Maṇimekhalaï may have merged with indigenous Javanese, perhaps even Malayo-Polynesian beliefs in spirits residing in the sea and on mountains. These notions have a bearing on the position and the legitimacy of the ruler to whom the command over the forces of nature is attributed. According to the Indian ideas of the ideal king, a king's primary duty was *dāna*, to be charitable and to provide his people with food and clothes. The bowl of abundant food is central in the story of Maṇimekhalaï and Āputra. It will only be filled in the hands of those whose charity is great. Maṇimekhalaï, who possessed the bowl of endless food, supposedly taught the king of Java about his duties. Ratu Kidul, Cemara Tunggal and Nawang Wulan share important traits with Maṇimekhalā and Maṇimekhalaï. The legitimate ruler of Java has to be related to both the goddess of the sea and the goddess of rice or rather of the land that produces the rice.

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The demonic image of goddess Durga in Bali

Ni Wayan Pasek Aryati

Introduction

Images of the goddess Durga in India have remained stable over a very long historical period, focussing on her benevolent aspects as a protective warrior goddess. However, in comparative perspective the images of the same goddess have gone through a process of demonization in Java and Bali that can be linked to historical and social factors. This evolution, which extended over a period of a millenium beginning around 700 CE, saw a gradual shift from benevolent to malevolent images of the goddess. This is predominantly evident from the later development of a completely demonized image of the goddess Durga and her main devotee Rangda in the Javano-Balinese tale of *Calon Arang*. Herein lies a strong tendency for female images to take a demonic form that must be exorcized through the authoritative power of a male figure.

While the tale of *Calon Arang* is preserved especially in the performing arts of contemporary Bali, it is well known in much of Indonesia. In mythological terms the first phase of development of accusations that women are morally loose and adulterous can be traced to the composition of the *kidung Sudamala* in circa 1365 CE during the East Javanese period, where the local Javanese poets depicted the beautiful goddess Uma as committing adultery with Lord Brahma. Uma is then depicted as being cursed to take on a demonic form as Durga and live in a graveyard for twelve years until her husband, Shiva, the most powerful male figure in East Javanese religion, carried out her exorcism and allowed her to return to her benign and benevolent form as the gentle goddess Uma. This episode appears to be closely connected to rites of exorcism, which were very important in Javanese society then as a part of the way it dealt with sickness, plagues, natural disasters and community strife.

The role of the goddess Durga as a deity who can provide valuable assistance in subjugating one's enemies was an important theme in treatments of images of Durga in ancient Java and Bali. It is still maintained in Bali to the present day where it takes the form of black magic practices that are aimed at overcoming personal enemies, rather than enemies of the kingdom. In the ancient period, when monarchy was still the main form of government, the goddess must have been worshipped by means of using Tantric rituals aimed at eliminating the enemies of the entire kingdom, who were also the enemies of a single person, that is the reigning monarch. During the colonial and independence periods in Bali, this role of the goddess appears to have gradually shifted to the domain of personal struggles for power in local arenas, thus finding an outlet in the practices of "left-hand magic" that are associated with worship of the goddess Durga in Bali today.[1] [See Fig.1 for illustrations of the contrasting forms of Durga in India and Bali.][2]

[1] For major works in the study of the role of black magic in Balinese society see Hooykaas (1978), Lovric (1986, 1987).

[2] All photos are the work of the author.

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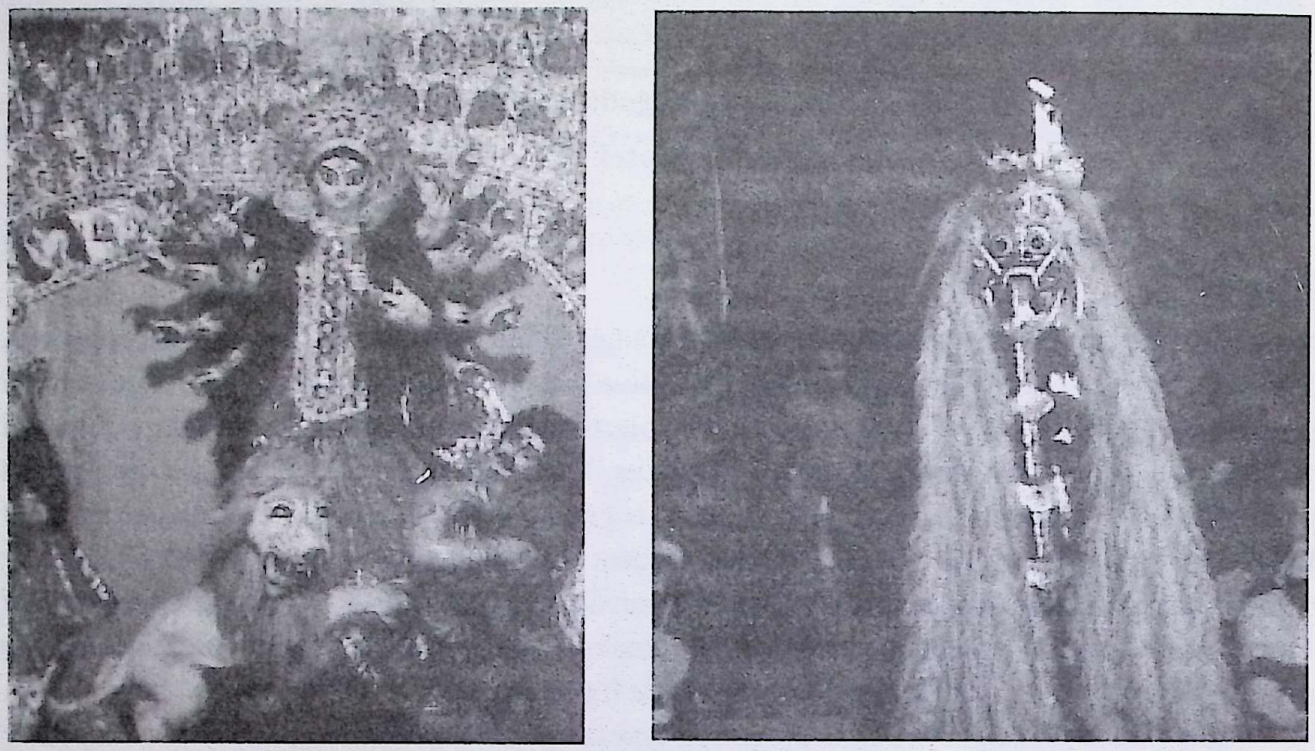

Fig.1: (left) The goddess Durga in a *pandal* figurine of Kolkata (2002); (right) The character *Rangda* from the *Calon Arang* drama of Bali (2008)

The goddess Durga as a destroyer

There are numerous *mantras* described in the texts used as guidance for practicing black magic, especially in palm-leaf manuscript *(lontar)* entitled *Aji Pangleyakan*,[3] where special mantras are used to invoke the goddess Durga in order to destroy one's enemies, whether individual or collective. In the Aji Pangleyakan the goddess Durga is worshipped in order to gain power to cause various kinds of problems, diseases, and even the death of other people. This lontar describes in detail the offerings that need to be made, the best time to carry out rituals, the proper method for worship and the place where the rituals should be performed. Texts like the Aji Pangleyakan are written in a mixture of Sanskrit, Old Javanese, Middle Javanese and Balinese and are memorized so that they can be uttered during rituals aimed at bringing harm to other people. The nature of such mantras is ambivalent; on the one hand they can bring destruction and on the other hand another protection. Most of the destructive mantras have a counterbalancing mantra that can be used to neutralize its power, or convert it into protective force. Despite their reputation for being destructive, many of these mantras are very similar, or even identical, with those found commonly in a wide variety of household and village rituals. In the Balinese context, the use of mantras is invariably associated with

[3] The *Aji Pangleyakan* contains guidance on how to practice black magic, complete with descriptions of the proper offerings and the procedures for performing rituals of this type.

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the making of offerings and dispensing of purifying holy water with specific mantras and ritual steps depending on the purpose of the ritual. Specific mantras and accompanying ritual steps vary depending on the purpose of the ritual. In the case of destructive rituals the essential point is the 'backward' or 'left-hand' character of the rituals and mantras used for this purpose. This means that mantras are read backwards, the steps of the ritual are carried out in the opposite direction from the norm, and the steps of any dance movements connected with the ritual are in the counter-clockwise direction. This clearly is aimed at heightening the transgressive aspect of the rituals aimed at producing the power to carry out black magic, which is further reinforced by antinomian practices like dancing naked in a burning ground or cemetery and incorporating parts of corpses found in the burning ground as part of the offerings used in rituals for left-hand magical purposes (*pangiwa*).[4]

Most of the textual sources of mantras are preserved in lontar manuscripts, which are kept in closed shrines (*gedong*) in one or more of the village temples. The manuscripts are given a special offering on occasions like Saraswati Day celebrations when rituals are performed to venerate Saraswati as the goddess of aesthetic beauty, knowledge and the arts. The importance of beauty in the Balinese religion and its strong connection with the goddess Saraswati is the reason why many lontar manuscripts begin with the invocation dedicated to the goddess Saraswati. The tradition is at ensuring the composer's due respect to the goddess, in return for which s/he gets blessed with knowledge.

In texts like the Aji Pangleyakan there is a similar emphasis on the need to pay respect to the goddess, but in this case, it is to Durga in her most grotesque and terrifying form. This contrast of beauty and ugliness could be considered one of the sources of the power of figures like Rangda in the *Calon Arang* tale, who are powerful through transgression of the normal order of life. Lovric (1986:72) points out in connection with sickness and pestilence that "any entity can have the power to cure or to cause it", and she goes on to show that theodicy is often developed in Bali in terms of a figure like Durga, who is portrayed as both the origin of diseases and pestilence, and the means of their cure. By studying the mantras of texts like the Aji Pangleyakan, we realise that part of the power of the goddess Durga comes from the uncontrolled aspect of her creativity; her power to create all kinds of living creatures regardless of their nature, whether benign and malignant. But this also means that proper rituals can cause the smallest living creatures, which are the cause of diseases and plagues, to be re-absorbed into Durga, so that once again there is equilibrium in the sphere of the world.

There are many lontar manuscripts that deal specifically with the subject of worshipping Durga to seek powerful magic. Among the most complete is the afore-mentioned Aji Pangleyakan, which lays out detailed rules and requirements for attaining power from the goddess Durga including the

[4] In the textual forms of the Calon Arang drama the sage Bahula Bharada's disciple enters the compound of Rangda and, finding her not at home, takes one of her magical manuscripts to be given to the sage Bharada to be read. To his surprise its contents are exactly like those of the books he uses for protective magic (*panĕngĕn*). It is widely believed in Bali that mantras for left-hand magic are the same as those for protective magic, but they are read, or recited, in the opposite direction. This belief appears to be reflected in Bharada's surprising discovery of the nature of the palm-leaf manuscripts used by Rangda to inflict pestilence on the realm of Airlangga.

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proper time and place for worshipping the goddess, i.e in the cremation ground, or burning ground, which is called the *Setra Gandamayu* in the text.[5] Hooykaas (1978) quotes the following lengthy formula from a lontar manuscript titled *Pangiwa*, which is very similar to formulae found in the Aji Pangleyakan and also the *Belego Dawa*; another lontar detailing the correct procedures to be followed by those who are willing to practice the black magic. In the text cited by Hooykaas, even the offerings are vividly described, and the correct procedures for following the "left-hand path" are carefully detailed:

> "*Yan ahyun angangge pangiwa, lamakane wenang sakti, sidi, mahawisesa, dabresih apeningan mahening-hening.*
> When one wishes to use black magic in order to obtain supernatural power and to succeed in sorcery, one should begin by cleansing oneself with the utmost care.[6]
>
> *Kala wengi mandewa-sraya rumuhun ring pangulu n setra, amedek Paduka Batari Durga, nunas panugrahan.*
> During the night one should go to the temple of the grave yard which is located in the most elevated part of the cemetery and turn oneself towards the eternal powers in the temple while invoking the goddess Durga to ask for blessings or favours.
>
> *Srana: daksina 1, artanya 17,000, canang 11 tanding, katipat 2 kelan, arak, berem, injin, katur ka luhur*
> Requisites: One should bring offerings consisting of a daksina provided with 17.000 Chinese coins, eleven *canang*, two *kelan katipat*, arrack and rice wine made of black rice and steamed black-rice cake. These offerings should be offered to the Goddess.
>
> *Wus mangkana, asila angarepi paryangan, amusti rangkep, teher agra-nasika, tan mari asep menyan astanggi; nirmalakena atinta.*
> After that, one should sit on the ground in front of the sanctuary with the hands in the praying position and then concentrate.

Without interrupting the concentration one should take care that the aromatic materials are kept smouldering. While keeping one's mind free from other thoughts one should utter this mantra.

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[5] I have used the term "cremation ground" in this section to translate *setra*. In some Balinese communities a distinction is made between the *setra*, where the bodies of the deceased are cremated, and the *sema*, where they are buried, but for most communities the two terms are nearly synonymous, since there is no clear separation of space between the area where the deceased are cremated and the area where bodies that are temporarily buried due to a lack of funds for the cremation rituals or the availability of an auspicious day for *śmaśāna*, a Sanskrit term for a cremation ground.

[6] I have taken the liberty here of rearranging Hooykaas' text and translation of a section of a manuscript titled *Pengiwa* that was transcribed for him by the late AA Ketut Sangka for the "Proyek Tik" collection. Hooykaas (1978:30) lists this transcription as K 96 in the Proyek Tik collection. In his original rendering the Balinese text and translation were given in two single blocks (1978:30-32).

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Om Ra Nini Batari Bagawati, turun ka Bali; ana wang mangkana; aminta kasih ring Paduka Batari, sira nunas turun ka mretya-pada.
Om the Most Venerated Goddess Bhagawati, deign to descend to Bali. There is someone invoking Thy favour and asking that Thou descend to the world of mortals.

Ana wang mangkana anunas kasaktyan, manusa kabeh ring Bagawati, Sang Hyang Guru turun ka mretya-pada.
There is someone who asks for supernatural power; numerous people are asking Thee to let the Divine Teacher descend to the world of mortals.

Ana wang manusa angawe Batara kabeh, turun ka Bali Sang Hyang Bagawati.
People are directing themselves to the Gods, so that the Goddess Bhagawati may descend to Bali.

Ana buta wilis, ana buta abang, [ana buta jenar], ana buta ireng, ana buta amanca-warna, mawak I Kalika, ya kautus antuk Batari Bagawati, teka welas-asih ring awak-sarira n ku-ne, pakulun Paduka Bagawati
There are dark-green *buta*, red ones, [yellow ones], black ones and *buta* and multi-coloured ones embodied in Kalika. May they be sent by the Goddess Bhagawati who will be gracious towards me; I am an obedient servant of Thou, Goddess Bhagawati.[7]

Om Mam Am Om Mam, ana Paduka Guru, teka welas-asih, Bagawati manggih di gedong kunci manik, teka asih ring awak-sarira n ku. Telas.
Om Mam Am Om Mam, there is Bhatara Guru who Has a gracious heart; the Goddess Bhagawati comes and meets him at the closed-shrine of jewels, be gracious toward me.

Dulurana: canang tubungan, burat wangi lenga wangi, nyahnyah gagringsingan, geti-geti, byu mas."
That invocation must be completed with *canang tubungan, burat wangi lenga wangi, nyahnyah gagringsingan* (roasted rice with golden colour), *geti-geti* (roasted rice mixed with brown sugar to get the red colour), *byu mas* (a type of a small banana fruit of golden colour). (Hooykaas 1978:30-31)

Nala (1997) also gives a very clear description of the procedures for practicing black magic. Nala's description of ritual practices is very close to the information found in textual sources like the

[7] The Sanskrit word *bhūta*, usually spelled *buta* in Balinese, has gone through a unique process of development in Bali. Perhaps originating from its use in the phrase *pañca-mahābhūta* that refers in Saṃkhyā philosophy to the "five great elements" of the physical world, these elements are associated in Bali with the "four spiritual siblings" (and the self) whose demonic aspect needs to be controlled in order to protect the human being from disease and accidents. This concept has developed to the point that there are a great many rituals aimed at placating the *buta*, or *buta-kala*, which are visualized as inhabiting the earth and underworld, and so worshippped with offerings placed on the ground, almost always containing meat, and often liquor — thus accentuating the possible Tantric origins of this form of worship.

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Aji Pengleyakan, but is based on interviews with traditional healers. This shows us that textual and ritual practices have not diverged greatly in the realm of magical practices.

There are a number of works in prose that narrate myths concerning the role of the goddess Durga as the destroyer of humans through inflicting plagues and disease. Among the most famous works is the prose text *Calon Arang*, which is considered the oldest textual version of the tale of the witch Rangda and her disciples in black magic. The phrase *calon arang*, in fact, means "candidate for black magic.

The prose *Calon Arang* is very important to this short study because it illustrates the prominence of the goddess Durga as the "personal deity" (*istadewata*) for Rangda *ing Dirah*, "the widow from Dirah" who worships the goddess Bhagavati (Durga) in the cremation ground in order to gain the favour of Durga and the power of causing great destruction to the kingdom of Airlangga, historical king (reigned c. 1019-1942 CE) who plays an important role in the Calon Arang tale.

The author of the Calon Arang has woven together historical and mythological events to create a picture of a world that seems very close to Balinese society. Even today it is widely believed that people can gain access to magical power and use it to do evil; however, this brings with it a state of impurity that can only be 'treated' through exorcistic rituals, The prose Calon Arang gives information on the ritual steps that need to be followed in the worship of the goddess, who is known in the text as Sri Bhagavati or Bhatari Durga. The first step is the reading of a text on magical practices, which undoubtedly contains mantras and invocations of the goddess Durga; then the Rangda and her disciples go to the cremation ground, where they dance in a wild frenzy aimed at raising up demonic forces and inspiring the goddess Durga herself to appear. Once the goddess appears, Rangda and her disciples worship the goddess Durga and ask her blessing in carrying out magical attacks. The first attack of Rangda on Airlangga's kingdom as described in the prose Calon Arang can be summarized as follows:

> "How painful it is that nobody wants to propose to my beautiful daughter. I will take out my sacred book and then go to pay homage at the 'feet of the goddess' (*paduka Sri Bhagavati*). I will ask for her blessing so that I can bring destruction to all the people of the kingdom", thought Rangda in Dirah. After reading her sacred book, Rangda then went to the cremation ground with seven of her favourite female disciples; Si Weksirsa, Mahisa-wadana, Si Lenda, Si Lendi, Si Guyang, Si Larung, and Si Gandi. After arriving in the cremation ground, they all dance wildly together. The goddess Durga (*paduka Batari Durga*) then appears with her numerous demonic followers. Rangda then worshipped the goddess with great fervour, who said to her disciple, "Hai, my dear daughter Calon Arang, what is your purpose in coming to me with all your disciples?" While continuing to worship the goddess, Rangda said, "My Lady, I have come to you to beg for a blessing so that I can destroy the kingdom, that's my main aim in coming before you my Lady". The goddess said, "My daughter, I give you permission to do so, but you should not destroy people inside the court. You should not kill, because it is a great sin to seek revenge!"

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> Calon Arang agreed to the condition that she would not kill people inside the court circle. Then she took leave of the goddess and departed from the cremation ground with light steps, followed by her disciples. Later at midnight, they all danced once again on the cremation ground, making a great sound with the clanging of *kamanak*, *kangsi* and other gongs and bells. After dancing, they went back home to Dirah/Girah with a happy feeling. The next morning, many people in the surrounding villages fell sick and died, so many that dead bodies piled up everywhere.[8]

From the description above we know that the Rangda of Dirah destroyed her enemies through magical power used with the blessings of the goddess Durga-Bhagavati. The fact that the goddess grants her this power does not mean that she does not know that it has evil consequences, for she reminds Rangda that it is sinful to do evil for the sake of seeking revenge. However, Rangda is blinded by her anger and ignores the caution of the goddess. In this description of the first worship to the goddess, the author does not describe the nature or extent of the offerings of Rangda and her followers to the goddess, but instead stresses their wild dancing and the loud, raucous music they make as an accompaniment to their dancing.

Beliefs about the importance of sacrifice in the quest for magical power have a long history in India. Lorenzen (1972:16) has pointed out that the most archaic level of Tantric worship to the goddess is represented in the prose, literary work *Kādambari* composed by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the 7th century CE. In this work, Durgā (known here as Caṇḍikā, another of her many names) is offered human flesh by people of the wild Śabara tribe.[9] Usha Dev (1987:12) tells us of a similar scene in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, another literary work of the 7th century CE, which describes "the scene of the temple of Caṇḍikā where the Śabaras [...] intended to sacrifice a boy". However, the most elaborate Indian description of the role of sacrifice in seeking the favour of the goddess is found in the Sanskrit drama *Mālatīmādhava*, composed by the illustrious Bhavabhūti during the 8th century CE (c.725 CE).[10] Lorenzen (1972:23) has pointed out that Bhavabhūti might have been inspired by Daṇḍin's work, replacing the sacrifice of a young prince with that of a young princess, and shifting the blame for the deed from the wild, Śabara people to a *siddha*, a practitioner of Tantric rites, who in this case has dedicated himself to winning the favour of Caṇḍikā in order to achieve great magical power.

When we look at a summary of the Mālatīmādhava, it should become clear that there is a strong relationship between the sacrificial scenes in the two works: the Daśakumāracarita and

[8] My translation here is based on Suastika's Indonesian translation and the Middle Javanese text of the prose the *Calon Arang* (LOr 5387/5279; Suastika 1997:60-61).

[9] I use diacritics in this paper only in the sections dealing with Indian works like the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti. I thus retain the Indian spelling Durgā only in this section of my paper. While distinctions of long and short vowels are retained in lontar manuscripts, they are not a part of Javanese or Balinese phonology and are not pronounced differently (as they are in India).

[10] Bhavabhūti's name means either "wealth of Shiva" or "ashes of Shiva" (Lorenzen 1972:50). He is considered by many scholars to have been a brilliant innovator in both the dramatic forms (*nāṭya*) and courtly epics (*kāvya*) of the Sanskrit tradition.

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Mālatīmādhava. In both it is a young princess who is to be sacrificed, while the person intending to carry out the sacrifice is an ascetic practicing extreme, antinomian forms of worship. If we compare the drama of Daśakumāracarita and Mālatīmādhava with the Calon Arang tale, we also find several similarities between these literary works. In the Calon Arang story, the fresh body of a young man who was buried on an auspicious day (*Tumpek*, or Saturday *Kliwon*) is brought back to life for the purpose of obtaining fresh blood and cannot be rescued, since he was an outsider to Rangda's circle of magical practitioners at the cremation ground. No matter how hard he begs for his life Calon Arang feels no remorse whatsoever in causing his death a second time, since the only thing on her mind was the destruction of Airlangga's entire kingdom.

Bhavabhūti, a poet and dramatist whose name has lived on as one of the greats of the Indian tradition, lived during the reign of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, which was a period of great glory and power that supported a sophisticated culture that admired and supported the creation of literary works and dramas in Sanskrit, as well as a number of other literary languages (Lorenzen 1972:49; Usha Dev 1987:13; Kale 1997:35-50). In Acts IV and Act V of this work the heroine is nearly sacrificed as a human offering to Cāmuṇḍā (a very terrifying form of the goddess Durgā) by a practitioner of magical rites who is described as a member of the *Kāpālika* order. As Lorenzen (1972:50) tells us the *Kāpālika* practiced extreme forms of asceticism and anti-social behaviour that, even as early as the time of Bhavabhūti, led to their being considered a dangerous, and possibly cannibalistic form of ascetics. For this study what is most important, and very striking, is that the description of extreme modes of Tantric worship found in works like the Kādambari, Daśakumāracarita and Mālatīmādhava are often strongly reminiscent of works of the Javanese and Balinese traditions like the Calon Arang.

The authors of these works created imaginary versions of rituals involving human sacrifice that must have always been conducted in conditions of great secrecy, or a tradition of beliefs about what might go on in such rituals. Since the Mālatīmādhava is very important as a comparison with the prose Calon Arang, I will summarize the Mālatīmādhava here:

> The heroine Mālatī is deeply in love with Mādhava. But they cannot marry since the parents of Mālatī have arranged her marriage with another man. Two adherents of the Kapālika sect; Aghoraghaṇṭa and his female disciple Kapālakuṇḍalā, want to take advantage of Mālatī's broken heart, which makes her a more attractive sacrificial victim. While Mālatī is lamenting on the terrace of her father's palace, Kapālakuṇḍalā abducts her and brings her to her teacher Aghoraghaṇṭa, who is eagerly awaiting Mālatī at the Karala temple, located in a spacious place near the cremation ground. Aghoraghaṇṭa has vowed to sacrifice a maiden to the goddess Cāmuṇḍā, who is enshrined there, and intends to use Mālatī as the sacrifice that will make his ritual and mantras efficacious. At the same time, broken hearted from the brutal separation from his beloved Mālatī, Mādhava has been wandering around in a burning ground and cemetery near the place where Mālatī was about to be sacrificed to the goddess Cāmuṇḍā in the Karala temple. In the depths of despair he has been selling fresh human flesh from the burning ground to the ghosts, goblins and other invisible spirits of the cemetery. While in the midst of doing so he hears

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the soft voice of a woman in the distance lamenting and calling out his name. The voice sounds very familiar, so he goes in search of its owner. He walks towards the temple of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā and finds Mālatī dressed in the white clothes of a sacrificial victim and on the point of being beheaded by Aghoraghaṇṭa, who is standing with an executioner's sword in hand in front of the image of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā. Mādhava and Aghoraghaṇṭa begin to battle with great ferocity. Meanwhile the temple has been surrounded by the troops of Mālatī's father, who have been searching high and low for her. Mādhava succeeds in killing Aghoraghaṇṭa, freeing Mālatī from danger, while Kapālakuṇḍalā manages to fly away to safety. Mādhava now receives the blessings of Mālatī's father and are joined in blissful marital union.[11]

While the Calon Arang story does not share the same romantic theme and the "happy ending" that was required in all Sanskrit dramas, if we look carefully we can see that the elimination of Rangda's impure state leads to the "liberation" of her disciples from the evil and impurity that has befallen them through joining Rangda in her quest for the powers of black magic. Both works are thus more about release from danger, impurity and evil than they are about a "battle between good and evil", and both provide insights into common beliefs about the use of human sacrifice to attain the highest degree of power in the magical arts.

Conclusions

After describing the major role of the goddess Durga as a destroyer of life, I can draw a few conclusions:

1. The role of the goddess as a destroyer is most strongly accentuated in the Balinese case. While her spouse, Lord Shiva, is said in contemporary Bali to be the Destroyer, Durga is actually more famous for her destructive nature than her spouse.

2. There is some confusion in Bali about the identity of the goddess Durga. Many people think of Durga and Rangda as identical, but the textual and performance sources show us that Rangda is a mythical devotee of the goddess Durga, who is the antagonist in the take of Calon Arang, or *Rangda ing Dirah*, and in performances based on this legend.

3. Common beliefs about the similarity of Queen Mahendradatta and the mythical Calon Arang suggest that powerful women have commonly met with resistance in their lives. At the same time, there is a general fear in the Balinese patriarchal society that women like widows and women who have not born a male heir, are likely to study and master black magic in order to seek revenge on society. At one time the wives of the warrior caste (*kṣatriya*) were required to throw themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands, thus accentuating the fear of the state of widowhood that is also reflected in the Indian tradition of satī. The tradition of works like the *Sudamala*, *Calon Arang* and

[11] I am indebted to Professor Gary Tubb of the Columbia University, New York for his kindly sharing with me this verbal summary of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* while I was in Israel in 2003.

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Kunti Yadnya suggests that women are feared for the destructive power they might bring upon their neighbours if they are not "protected" by the rules and regulations of the patriarchal society and the 'protective' circle of marriage and the family.

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A Khmer Viṣṇu image in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Robert L. Brown

Among the Museum's most important Southeast Asian sculptures is a tenth-century stone Viṣṇu from Cambodia (Figs.1, 2, 3). Its size alone is impressive. Although it is broken from just above the ankles it would have been over three meters high when complete. The figure stands with its legs fully cut out which supported the entire weight of the very heavy sculpture. Viṣṇu originally had four arms, which like the feet, are now broken and lost; but they originally would have spread out into space on both sides of the body, creating an imposing figure that was completely three dimensional. Also, in terms of the fineness of the carving — particularly of the cloth wrap worn around the hips, of the facial features, and of the decoration of the headgear — the sculpture stands out as a spectacular example of Khmer sculpture.

The tenth century in Cambodia was exceedingly complex in terms of politics, religion, and art history. The period can be divided according to the reigns of kings, the dates for which we have from the extensive epigraphy of the time. The tenth-century Khmer rulers are:

Harśavarman I – ca. 900-ca. 921
Īśānavarman II – 921-928
Jayavarman IV – 928-941
Harśavarman II – 941-944
Rājendravarman II – 944-968
Jayavarman V – 968-1001

A second method of dividing the century is according to art historical styles associated with monuments:

Bakheng style – ca. 893-ca. 927
Koh Ker style – 921-ca. 945
Pre Rup style – 947-ca. 965
Banteay Srei style – 967-ca. 1000
Khleangs style – ca. 965-1010

The characteristics and sequencing of the styles have been worked out primarily by French colonial scholars, although the exact parameters of the style have become somewhat amorphous due to the many recent new finds and resulting revisionist scholarship.

The two methods of dividing the tenth century (by kings and by styles) do not correspond exactly, but overlap and intersect. The LACMA Viṣṇu can be viewed in terms of the two chronological systems. The history of the tenth century is recorded mostly in the extensive

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inscriptions carved in stone that were set up in conjunction with shrines and temples. The tenth century inscriptions are in Khmer and Sanskrit, and are part of a very large corpus of inscriptions that cover the entire period of the Pre-Angkor and Angkor Dynasties, a period of over 600 years (ca. 7th -ca. 13th centuries). The inscriptions are entirely associated with kingship and elite society, although they can contain detailed information about the workings of everyday activities that pertain to elite activities, such as information about how support for temples in terms of food, ritual supplies, and slaves was allotted.

One important unusual event that happened during the tenth century was the movement of the capital from Angkor (ancient name Yaśodharapura) to a location some 100 km. to the northeast called Koh Ker (Chok Gargyar). This switch of capitals took place in the second quarter of the tenth century. The king Yaśovarman I who reigned from 889-ca. 900 had moved the capital from Hariharālaya (modern Roluos) some 25 kilometers to a new site which was named after him (Yaśodharapura — the city of Yaśodhara, today called Angkor), and thus founded the city which was to remain the capital for the next 500 years , except for the interim when king Jayavarman IV moved the capital to Koh Ker. Yaśovarman I also built a type of monument that was to become the model for monuments constructed by subsequent kings, a pyramidal temple topped by five tower-shrines. Yaśovarman placed in the central tower of his temple Śiva in the form of a liṇga, the liṇga named in association with the king Yaśodhareśvara (Lord of Yaśodhara). The temple mountain, Phnom Bakheng, was only one of Yaśovarman's many monuments, and the deities whose images were housed in the monuments included a wide range of both Hindu and Buddhist gods, including Viṣṇu.

It is not clear when Yaśovarman's reign ended — some time in the first decade of the tenth century. His two sons, Harśavarman I and Īśānavarman II ruled, apparently sequentially, after their father's reign ended, assumedly upon his death. It appears that the two sons were young when their father died and were under some type of guardianship with their uncle, the future Jayavarman IV, the king who moved the capital to Koh Ker. At least the sons were involved with Jayavarman, a relationship that seems to have broken into open competition when Jayavarman moved to Koh Ker where he set up a rival center of the kingdom, while the sons continued to rule at Angkor. The period of dual reigns dates approximately from 921 until 928, when Jayavarman IV became the sole Khmer king. It appears that Angkor was largely abandoned at that point. The king who would follow Jayavarman IV (except for a brief period when Harśavarman II, Jayavarman's son, ruled 941-944) was Rājendravarman II, who reigned from 944-968, and moved the capital back to Angkor. Rājendravarman says in an inscription of 961 that when he returned the capital to Angkor it was overgrown with jungle so that it had become hidden. His inscription says "After having restored the glorious town [Angkor] that had become invisible, he filled it with justice, profit and pleasure..." (Sharan1981:187) .[1]

[1] The interpretation of the inscription that Angkor had become hidden by an over grown jungle during the period when Koh Kerwas the capital is proposed by both Coedès (1937:139, n. 4) and Sharan (1981:187, n. 148) . The Sanskrit

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Rājendravarman II was Harśavarman II's cousin, the son of a sister of Yaśovarman, making Yaśovarman and Jayavarman IV his uncles. From inscriptional evidence we know that Rājendravarman was an ally of Harśavarman II during the latter's short reign of some three years, and became king when Harśavarman's reign ended, probably upon his death. The reigns of most Khmer kings were filled with constant wars , and the military abilities of the kings were the most important characteristic of royalty stressed in both epigraphs and in art. Harśavarman II was probably killed in his attempt to keep his throne, and his cousin Rājendravarman II's subsequent reign was also one of constant conflict. Rājendravarman was able to build extensively, however, during his reign (944-968), mainly when he returned the capital to Angkor. Included are the East Mebon and Pre Rup temples, for which we have their very long foundation inscriptions. While the East Mebon and Pre Rup temples have a Śiva liṇga as the central image, many images of Viṣṇu were made during Rājendravarman's rule as well.

Characteristic of the extensive building under Jayavarman IV's reign was the enormous size of the buildings and of the sculpture. Jayavarman IV's temple mountain at Koh Ker is 36 m. tall, and was topped by a stone liṇga that today is lost but would have been perhaps 4.5 m. tall and weighed 24.3 metric tons (Briggs 1951:121). The temple mountain, part of the complex of Prasat Thom, also included brick shrines that housed large stone sculptures, one of a dancing Śiva that is today broken into pieces but once stood almost four meters tall.[2] Rājendravarman's monuments in Angkor are impressive, but not of this scale. Many large stone sculptures continued, however, to be made although their original placement is rarely known.

Rājendravarman II died in 968, and was followed by his son, Jayavarman V, who will rule until the end of the 10th century (968-1001). While Jayavarman continued to worship Śiva as his personal deity, as had all previous kings of the tenth century, there are numerous inscriptions during his relatively long reign of Viṣṇu images being patronized. Indeed, a period of broad ecumenical tolerance is reflected in the many different deities, including Buddhist, that were propagated during Jayavarman's rule. Among these were many sites and images patronized by members of the elite, not only the king. The importance of the sacerdotal families, those families who contributed spiritual guides and court officials and which were intimately connected to the families of the kings themselves, appears strongly in the inscriptions during Jayavarman V's rule. One of the most famous of all Khmer monuments, Banteay Srei, was built during Rājendravarman V's and Jayavarman V's reigns by two brothers who were members of an important sacerdotal family. Banteay Srei, while dedicated to Śiva, had one of the libraries dedicated to Viṣṇu and numerous reliefs of Vaiṣṇavite narratives. Indeed the brothers themselves were personally followers of Viṣṇu. Banteay Srei is not a

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original runs:

yaśodharā yena puri parokṣā
dharmmārthakāmair iyam abhyapuri

The term parokṣā means "invisible" but also "absent, unknown, unintelligible", so a double meaning may be that the site of Angkor had disappeared not only from sight but also from memory (Monier-Williams 1976:589).

[2]See Jessup and Zephir (1997:42-43).

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temple mountain, and is not built on levels. Its modern fame comes from the detail and quality of its carving. It is also unusual in its small size, suggesting almost a miniature temple, with the sanctuary doors barely 1.5 meters tall, so that one must bend to enter and once inside cannot stand upright. The sculptures are small as well and highly naturalistic. In their small size and realism they contrast sharply with the large and hieratic style of the sculpture from the previous reigns, specifically those of Jayavarman IV and Rājendravarman II.

Fig.1: The Hindu God Viṣṇu Cambodia, 10t h c. Stone H: 226.1 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of Anna Bing Arnold

This sketch of the history of kingship during the tenth century allows us to see that Viṣṇu was an important deity, patronized at sites and with images throughout the country; but Viṣṇu was only one among a wide spectrum of both Hindu and Buddhist deities during this century of religious tolerance. LACMA's Viṣṇu, due to its size and quality, suggests possible royal patronage, particularly under the reigns of Jayavarman IV and Rājendravarman II, whose combined rules date from 928 to 968. While Koh Ker and Angkor are the most likely sites for the LACMA Viṣṇu, many other sites are possible, for example the area around Battambang has revealed impressive Koh Ker style images.

We can turn now to the second method suggested above of dividing the tenth century, that of artistic styles. Unfortunately, the stylistic evidence does not supply a precise date. First we should describe the LACMA Viṣṇu and what it would have looked like when complete (Fig.1). It is broken below the knees but the image would have been barefooted. That the sculptor was concerned about placing so much weight on the fully cut out legs, even though they are large, is seen on the reverse where reserves of stone were kept where the legs begin to taper down toward the feet. The four arms are also broken, but their disposition and the attributes they held can almost certainly be recreated based on many similar examples of tenth century Viṣṇus in both bronze and stone. The upper right hand would have held a wheel (*cakra*), the upper left a conch shell (*śaṅkha*), the lower right a ball indicating the earth (*bhūmi*) and the lower left a club (*daṇḍa*) that would have been connected to the base of the image, adding some stability to the arms (cf. Girard-Geslan 1998, fig. 455). The Viṣṇu wears a *sampot* (cloth), and it is the style of the garment that is used by art historians as the most accurate method of placing both male and female sculpture. The *sampot* is a simple rectangular piece of cloth that is worn around the hips and tucked in at the front below the navel, the ends of which are pulled up between the legs and held by a belt,

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Fig. 2: Detail of face

Fig. 3: Detail of hair

giving the appearance of a pair of shorts. There is a series of folds on the left thigh, called a pocket fold by scholars, that is probably the stylized end of one of the cloth sections that hung from the front central knot. While the forms of the garment are clear, exactly how they reflect, if they do, actual male dress at the time is difficult to know, and how an actual garment would have been arranged is still not agreed upon by scholars. A separate piece of cloth was used to form the bow-like form above the belt in the front , with its ends tucked under the belt and falling into two central cloth ends between the legs that flare out at the ends, called anchor folds by modern scholars.

The face has horizontal eyebrows , eyes defined by double lines with delineated pupils, large lips with a moustache, and a beard indicated by a line that comes to a point at the center of the face under the lip (Fig. 2). The headgear is of extraordinary elaboration. There is a high diadem tied at the back in a complicated knot (Fig. 3). The hair appears braded into tiny rows. The patterns on the rows perhaps indicate hair decorated with gold and pearls. The topknot is in two octagonal tiers, topped with a lotus-like button. A beautifully patterned design is worn over the back of the head, probably meant to copy an actual hair ornament cut out of gold.

The identification of Khmer sculptural styles has a long bibliography and uses a particular methodology, called motif analysis,[3] which was developed primarily by French colonial scholars. Much of this work was summarized by Jean Boisselier in his study *La Statuaire Khmère et Son Évolution* (1955). Boisselier argues that the *sampot* clearly defines the two styles of Koh Ker and

[3] A discussion of the methodology can be found in Naudou (1978).

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Pre Rup sculpture. The Koh Ker *sampot* has a large rounded overhang of drapery over the belt in the front. The longer anchor fold is behind with the shorter one in the front, and there is no pocket fold on the thigh. The Pre Rup sculpture has a much reduced cloth overhang, with the anchor folds reversed from those of Koh Ker, that is the longer fold is in front of the shorter fold, and there is a pocket fold. Both the pocket fold and the arrangement of the anchor folds are a return to the Bakheng style (ca. 893-927) that preceded the Koh Ker style. The return of the capital to Angkor brought with it a looking back to the Bakheng period art, and what is essentially a combination of Bakheng with the new Koh Ker styles; a looking back to earlier styles that is found in other characteristics of the sculpture and architecture of Rājendravarman's reign. The Bakheng *sampot* has the longer anchor fold over the shorter rear fold and an anchor pocket (thus like the Pre Rup style). There is, however, no fold over the belt, but the cloth is pulled up in accordion folds above the belt, appearing very much like the cloth held by the belt in the rear .

The LACMA Viṣṇu's *sampot* is a combination of two styles, the Bakheng with the cloth held above the belt and with a pocket fold, and the Koh Ker with the longer anchor fold behind the shorter. The Śiva sculpture now in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena (Fig. 4) wears the *sampot* in exactly the same way as the LACMA Viṣṇu. Indeed, the Śiva and Viṣṇu appear very similar in many characteristics, and Pratapaditya Pal 's insightful discussion of the Norton Simon sculpture, where he suggests that the two sculptures may come "from the same site" (Pal 2004:174) seems likely to me as well. Pal argues that the Norton Simon Śiva dates to ca. 925, the beginning of the Koh Ker style. Pal writes, "It is possible that the sculpture was carved early in Koh Ker's brief history (928-44) by artists who had worked on or were familiar with the Bakheng-style" (Pal 2004:174). Again, this seems a reasonable assessment, and supplies the approximate date for the LACMA Viṣṇu. As a transition sculpture the Viṣṇu has characteristics of both styles.

However, the same argument can perhaps be made at another transition point, namely that between the Koh Ker and Pre Rup styles (ca. 950), when Koh Ker stylistic characteristics are being modified by a looking back to Bakheng sculpture and the Pre Rup style is developing. The same mixing of *sampot* characteristics might occur then as well. Furthermore, the style of the LACMA Viṣṇu's headgear seems to argue for a Pre Rup date. The extremely elaborate fillet, hair braids, and stacked central tower appear more in the style of Pre Rup than of Bakheng. The very high fillet, for example, with its double row of pearl s bordering a line of four-petaled flowers is more typical of Pre Rup fillets than Bakheng fillets, which are narrower and have a single row of pearls only at the end of their development (Boisselier 1955:109-112). A date, therefore, at the beginning of the Pre Rup period, ca. 950 CE, is more likely than as a transition to Koh Ker, although the date remains to be definitively determined.[4]

Finally, while an image of the Hindu deity Viṣṇu is hardly surprising in the art of the ancient Khmer, it is important to remember that these sculptures were not only the gods themselves. They were usually also meant to be associated with people, the people who had the sculptures made

[4] See discussion in Pal (2004:174), for references to opinions of various scholars regarding the Norton Simon Śiva.

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and who designated relationships of sculptures with other people, usually with relatives and ancestors. For examples, in the five tower s of Pre Rup, consecrated by Rājendravarman II in 961, a liṅga named Rājendrabhadreśvara was placed at the center. One of the Khmer's oldest and most important deities, Bhadreśvara (a form of Śiva) is thus associated with Rājendra (varman). This linking is more than just in the names, but is intended to identify the king with the deity. The exact way in which this happens and meaning it had to the king has been the subject of an enormous bibliography, but for our purposes we need only realize that images in ancient Cambodia often, if not always, "represent" both the deity and a person. According to the Pre Rup inscription, in one of the four corner towers Rājendravarman placed a second image representing himself as another form of Śiva, perhaps this time in an anthropomorphic sculpture. A third image of Śiva, this time representing Harśavarman II (the son of Jayavarman IV whom Rājendravarman tried to help maintain his short reign at Koh Ker (941-944), was placed in a second corner shrine. An image of the goddess Umā, representing Jayadevī, Jayavarman IV's wife and Rājendravarman's aunt, was in the third tower. Finally, an image of Viṣṇu in the final shrine was dedicated to a fabled early ancestor, Viśvarūpa. Thus, we see that the sculptures could be dedicated to, or intended to represent, dead ancestors, and even what we would call mythical ancestors.[5] The intention of these associations was, as I said, not simply in terms of a memorial, but was seen as an essential means of royal legitimation that produced real political and economic power for the king. While we do not know with whom the LACMA Viṣṇu was associated, due to its size and quality it definitely was someone of great distinction.

Fig. 4: The Prang at Koh Ker 10th c.

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[5] The placement of these images at Pre Rup is recorded in the dedicatory inscription (Coedès 1937:140) and Sharan (1981:188-189).

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Sudhana and Manohara
A story of love, loss and redemption at Candi Borobudur

Cecelia Levin

The legend of a mortal hero who falls in love with an ethereal being is a universal theme that has served as an inspirational source for creativity in a variety of art forms: the story of the Nymph of the Luo River was recalled in a scroll painting attributed to the fourth-century artist Gu Kaizhi; the Slavic *Rusalka* was recounted in Pushkin's poetry and re-enacted in the opera by Antonín Dvořák, and the Scottish sylph's story was enlivened in the dances of *La Sylphide*. These all tell of doomed romance and the tragic inability of man and the supernatural to forge an ongoing amorous partnership. Unlike its counterparts in other world cultures, the Buddhist story of Prince Sudhana and the *kinnarī* princess Manoharā is perhaps the sole example of a successful "intermarriage", for this tale concludes in a joyous ending with their reunion after a series of trials and tribulations. While this story has been told in a diversity of texts, languages, and variants, perhaps its best-known version was committed to stone — found on the relief panels of the First Terrace of Candi Borobudur in Central Java.

One may wonder, what was the appeal of this fable about love found, then lost, and then found again? It might also be difficult to fathom how this love story expressing sentiments somewhat incongruent with the ethos of Buddhism made its way into an amalgam of Buddhist parables. Even more puzzling is why this saga of paternal and brāhmaṇic betrayal, of magical incantations and accoutrements, and of a treacherous journey and challenging feats gained its great prominence among the narratives at Caṇḍi Borobudur, and how can it possibly bring further light to the meaning of the great monument?

The legend of Sudhana and Manoharā spans the first twenty relief panels of the 120 narrative carvings embellishing the Main Wall of the First Terrace.[1] Here a bifurcated narrative program encircles the monument — the upper band conveys the *Lalitavistara*; below an assemblage of narratives all linked to *avadāna* stories unfolds. The initial connection between the visual narrations depicted in the lower series and Buddhist parables was made by Serge Oldenburg in 1895, who claimed that the third panel through the twentieth could be specifically linked to the *Sudhanakumārāvadāna*, the 30th story of the *Divyāvadāna* assemblage. In this particular recension, dated between the third to the mid-fourth century CE and linked to the Mūlasarvāstivādin Buddhists of northwest India, the Buddha relates the story to a king in order to demonstrate his charities, deeds, and the fulfillment of the *vīrya-pāramitā* in a former lifetime.

[1] It is only succeeded in length by the 25 panels of the *Rudrāyaṇāvadāna* and matches the expanse of the *Māndhātarāvadāna*. Both of these stories are depicted later in this series.

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More than a half century later, the well-explored analysis of this theme and its related visual narratives at Candi Borobudur was undertaken by P.S. Jaini, who focused on the variations of Buddhist texts that incorporate the Sudhana and Manoharā legend and their linkage with particular Buddhist affiliations. He brought to light the *Kinnarī-jātaka*, incorporated into the *Mahāvastu* and associated with the Mahāsāṅghika School, and a *vinaya* text known as the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* that coalesced into the version incorporated in the Divyāvadāna.[2] Jaini additionally noted a third Sanskrit redaction, the *Avadāna-kalpalatā,* as well as a version in the Khotanese (Saka) language and various Chinese and Tibetan translations. Within the Pāli tradition, he cited both *Sudhanukumāra-jātaka* in the Burmese *Zimmé Paṇṇeśa* and the *Sudhana-jātaka* in the *Paññāsa-jātaka*, the latter also a compilation of Southeast Asian origin.[3] Further, Jaini recognized that numerous examples could be found in Burmese and Thai performing and poetic art traditions (Jaini 1966:533-34). In his thorough evaluation of the episodic material depicted in the visual narratives on Candi Borobudur he determined that none of the textual versions that he uncovered corresponded to the telling of this romance as sculpted in stone. However he was able to recognize strong affinities with the Sudhanakumārāvadāna of the Divyāvadāna, with the inclusion of particular details that could only be found in the Pāli recensions of the story (Jaini 1966:558). Similarly, he observed that while not all the episodes enumerated in the Pāli version are pictorially realized in the version of the story featured on Candi Borobudur, not one of the visual narratives can be regarded to be in disagreement (Jaini 1966:555).[4]

That the visual narratives sculpted on the sacred monuments of classical Java have no specific literary "archetype", and that threads of episodic material and details are extant between these panels and later Southeast Asian narrations, come as no surprise to art historians who work with this extraordinarily rich narrative tradition. For this reason they have sought to understand the pictorial language and practices conceived by narrative artists of South and Southeast Asia and employed to make these stories both comprehensible and evocative for their viewers. For this reason scholars of visual narration now work with an arsenal of diverse methods in order to interpret the intent of those created centuries before us and recognize that no detail should go unnoticed. This is perhaps best underscored in the remarks of Jan Fontein, who wrote:

> "A systematic comparison of Indian illustrations of episodes from the epics, sūtras, jātakas or moralizing tales of the Pañcatantra type with illustrations of episodes of the same stories in Thai,

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[2] Jaini observes that the extant Mūlasarvāstivādin *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, translated both into Chinese and Tibetan, is incomplete. However, he found that it differed little from version found in the *Divyāvadāna* (Jaini 1966:533, fn. 5)

[3] Ginsburg identified two differing Thai versions of the story. He accredited both of these to a Pāli source. One of these is housed in the National Library in Bangkok and demonstrates very few variations with the Pāli recension (Ginsburg 1987:125).

[4] Those significant details absent from Candi Borobudur yet prominent in the Pāli recension are the visit of Druma to Uttarapāñcāla; the test of the Sudhana lifting the heavy sapphire gem by means of *satyavākyena*, and the flying of the prince across the mountain tied to the wings of a bird (Jaini 1966:554).

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> Cambodian or Indonesian art may sometimes help us to determine to what extent Indian iconographic prototypes and Indian narrative techniques played a role in the shaping of Southeast Asian artistic conventions. Also, by studying the selection of topics or episodes that were deemed worthy of visual representation in different countries and reviewing the creative solutions to problems of illustration, devised by artists in different cultures, we can gradually begin to decipher the artistic vocabulary of the sculptors and painters in each country." (Fontein 2000:2)

Now almost another half-a-century has passed since Jaini's significant contribution to the theme of Sudhana and Manoharā. In light of a new generation of Sanskritists who have turned their attention to the Divyāvadāna and undertaken new translations of its stories, it now seems an opportune time to perform *pradakṣiṇā* once more past these twenty exquisitely-carved relief panels at Candi Borobudur.

The first four panels parallel the story as told by the Divyāvadāna, a fact that was unfortunately missed by Oldenburg, and details events that actually precede the birth of the Prince of Hāstinapura, when a Buddha-to-be descends into the womb of King Dhana's queen. The first and second relief panels recreate the contrast between the kingdoms of North and South Pañcāla, thereby setting the stage for the subsequent events of the story. In the first King Dhana of North Pañcāla enjoys the prosperity that is the result of his practice of dharma and the protective efforts of the serpent Janmacitraka. This is succeeded by a depiction of the ruler of South Pañcāla's foray around his kingdom, where he witnesses its barrenness. The foiled plot of the magician to capture Janmacitraka and the rewarding of the hunter Phālaka (Halaka) at the Nāgas' court unfolds next.

The sculptors of the reliefs Candi Borobudur skip over the details of Sudhana's birth and upbringing, instead bringing the viewer next to a scene of Phālaka at the Brahma-sabhā, the lotus pool where a sage has told him he will be able to witness an extraordinary phenomenon — the bathing of Manoharā, the daughter of the *kinnarī* king Druma. It is here that she comes to bathe on the night of the full moon in the company of 500 *kinnarī* maidens. In the Divyāvadāna the hunter captures Manoharā by means of the *amoghapāśa* ("Infallible Noose").[5] This magic object was not visible in the prior relief. Moreover, the depiction of an empty-handed Phālaka and sage in seated postures of relative relaxation with a statuesque and static Manoharā standing in their vicinity suggests that the visual narration of this episode is in concordance with either the *Mahāvastu* or a Pāli variant. In these recensions Phālaka was advised that the *kinnarī* princess could only be caught by *satyavākyena,* or "statements of truth". She stands with her left hand extended and her right hand on her jeweled girdle, suggesting the moment when she tells Phālaka that she cannot flee, and as proof

[5] In the few episodes of the Sudhana and Manoharā story that were painted in Cave 1 at Ajanta, the "Infallible Noose" is clearly hanging at the front of the palace entrance. Its placement is specifically described in the Divyāvadāna (Tatelman 2005:234-235). In this variation, the hunter returns to demand the magic weapon as he is advised by a hermit sage that it is much more valuable than any of the jewels initially awarded him by the Nāga king for the saving of Janmacitraka.

[6] The term *cuḍamaṇi* is considered synonymous with "pubic plaque" in Central Javanese culture. It is possible that Manoharā touches her girdle to refer to her *cuḍamaṇi* underneath.

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she will relinquish her *cūḍamaṇi*, the ornament that enables her to fly through the air.[6] While the next episode may be interpreted as the action of Phālaka giving Manoharā to Sudhana, it is much more about the reaction of Sudhana when he first sees the *kinnarī* princess. On the left hand of the composition everything seems frozen in time as the couple gaze upon one another. The prince's retinue remains still as Phālaka and his companions are separated from this initial meeting, placed at the opposite side of the composition. In the words of the Divyāvadāna, the initial mutual sighting of these two lovers brings to mind the drinking of the love potion from *Tristan und Isolde:*

> At that moment, Sudhana was shot through the heart by the arrow of desire, that passionate desire which is like a moth in a flame; which, having the nature of a spotless, luminous moon trembling in water, is exceedingly difficult to grasp; which, like a sea monster among the billows in a torrent, is hard to catch: which moves with the wind's or a Garuḍa's speed; which, being exceedingly light, whirls about like a cotton tuft; which leaps about, always in motion, like a monkey; which ever seeks the flavor of passion's happiness, which feeds the impurities; which, entirely absorbing all thought, is careless of that rough and dangerous precipice that leads to all those impurities — which, with the supremely mysterious sound that is the yearning for union, is loosed form the bow of false understanding. And so it is said,
>
> As when, in the rainy season lightning issues forth
> From a cloud,
> When he beheld her whose face was as lovely
> as the moon, Sudhana,
> With affection, love and amorous feelings towards
> her spring up,
> At once was pierced through the heart by passion's
> arrow. (Tatelman 2005:252-255)

In this scene Manoharā appears to hold her left hand with the tip of her thumb against the tip of her index finger; Sudhana reacts with the *varada-hasta*. The *kinnarī* princess's gesture may have its roots in her progenitor depicted in Cave 1 at Ajanta.[7] Several episodes related to the re-unification of Sudhana and Manoharā are depicted on the back wall above the side door in left corner of this cave.[8] One scene centers on an image of Manoharā in conversation with a female attendant. She touches her thumb to her forefinger while extending her little finger. This gesture is simultaneously employed by Sudhana, who waits at the palace's gateway where Manoharā has hidden him from her father.

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[7] Walter Spink assigns Cave 1 to the patronage of Emperor Harisena and dates it to 477 CE. He believes that the imperial quality is evidenced by the most elaborate *vihāra* façade of the complex, as well as the thematic matter of the sculptural friezes, such as lovemaking, hunting and battles, Also significant is that the *jātaka* stories all relate to royal personages (Spink 2009:73). He also connects the death of Emperor Harisena with the unfinished bottom areas of the cave's pictorial program (Spink 2007:29).

[8] The adjacent corner features the earlier episodes of the hunter demanding of the "Infallible Noose" at the court of the Nāga King followed by the capturing of Manoharā by the hunter with the noose.

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Dieter Schlingloff has identified this *hasta* from other Indian narratives of loving couples and determined that in this Ajanta narrative it signified Manoharā's and Sudhana's proclamation of their love for each other (Schlingloff 1988:77). Manoharā's comparable gesture at Candi Borobudur may express this same sentiment, and further clarify some of the other imagery, such as the circular container held by a member of Sudhana's entourage seated directly to the prince's immediate right. It is very possible that inside is the princess's *cūḍamaṇi,* which has now been transferred to Sudhana as a demonstration of her love. Meanwhile, the prince's gesture acknowledges receipt.[9]

The subsequent seventh through tenth episodes, as identified by Krom, recount the *purohita* encouraging King Dhana to send the prince out on an expedition. Since Manoharā has been brought to court, the prince has given her all of his attention and he has been neglectful of his royal duties. This is followed by a narrative of Sudhana taking leave of his mother and handing over Manoharā's *cūḍamaṇi* to her care. Sudhana is then shown forming an alliance with the Pāṅcika *yakṣas* as he begins his military activities. During Sudhana's absence the King has had a series of inauspicious dreams, and he is then shown as heeding to the counsel of the *purohita* who prescribed the fat of a *kinnarī* to ensure the well being of King Dhana and the Kingdom of North Pañcāla (Krom 1927: 254-256).[10]

Perhaps one of the most admired images from Candi Borobudur is the following scene of Manoharā's escape. Both the Avadāna-kalpalatā and the Khotanese specifically mentions that she took flight into the sky. The Pāli version describes the guards of the Palace in hot pursuit of the absconding princess. However, at Caṇḍi Borobudur they appear rather lackadaisical, and their demeanor may relate a greater correspondence to the Divyāvadāna's recounting of this episode. Here King Dhana becomes alarmed by Manoharā's escape, but he is assured by the *purohita* that they have achieved their purpose and the king is now "cleansed of all evil" (Tatelman 2005:270-271).

The words of Manoharā as she flees the palace may be even more revealing than the details of her escape. In the Divyāvadāna she cries:

> Intimacy and close union,
> laughter and pleasure, have been mine;
> Now, like an elephant freed from her bonds,
> I am gone! (Tatelman 2005:269)

Manoharā's acknowledgement of her experience with human love — a common leitmotif among stories of supernatural females who consort with mortal men — is an odd remark to make when fleeing for one's life. It resonates, however, with the only extant parallel of a Central Javanese romance — that of Rāma and Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin.* In this epic one also is told of a

[9] This would also explain the missing detail of how Sudhana comes in possession of the item that he later gives to his mother for safekeeping.

[10] Jaini notes that the details of Sudhana's reluctance to leave Manoharā before departing on an expedition and the battle where the Pāñcika's *yakṣas* join in defense of the prince are to be found in the Divyāvadāna. They are absent from later Avadāna-kalpalatā and Khotanese versions (Jaini 1966:551).

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princess involuntarily separated from her beloved, a forlorn prince in search of his missing wife, archery contests, simian helpers, and a ring that foretells the reunification of lovers.[11] In the Kakawin, Sītā reflects on the absence of her fulfilling love life when she pens a message to Rāma that will be delivered by Hanumān. In a passage that has no counterparts in the Indian versions of the epic, she writes:

> And please remember the time when you were young, when you were married to me by my father and our happiness together. We have enjoyed everything there is to enjoy completely. In amorous play you were skillful and you were versed in the contents of the best handbooks of love. (RK XI.27; Santoso 1980:296)

After the depiction of Manoharā's flight from the palace, Sudhana is shown returning to Hāstinapura and presenting his father with the tribute of the subdued rebels. The subsequent 13th panel reveals Sudhana's confrontation with his mother as he learns of the plight and disappearance of Manoharā. In the comparable event in the Divyāvadāna, the prince and the queen have a dramatic exchange, and he repeats his lament twice, possibly as a means to underscore his grief:

> I cannot find Mano-hara, who is endowed with all
> the virtues my heart desires
> As well as with the most exquisite beauty. Where
> has my Mano-hara gone?
> My mind, searching for her everywhere, is
> bewildered, stupefied,
> And my heart burns painfully because I am bereft
> of her. (Tatelman 2005:276-279)

This meeting between royal parent and offspring is now mirrored in the next relief of the series that relates Manoharā's return to her homeland and her telling of her experiences among the world of men to King Druma.[12] Sudhana is then shown consulting with the sage to learn the whereabouts of his beloved.[13] The handing over of the ring which Manoharā leaves with the sage is not shown in this

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[11] In both the Kinnarī-jātaka and the Pāli version, a monkey accompanies Sudhana in his search for Manoharā (Jaini 1966:538 and 543). In regards to the ring motif, Wendy Doniger's study of the ring as a symbol of recognition or rejection in Sanskrit epic literature focused on this item's emblematic roles as a means of invisibility, a symbol of marriage, and associations with both forgetfulness or memory (Doniger 1998:449). These are props in a variety of texts that deal with the themes of infidelity and acceptance of paternity. The signet ring in the story of Sudhana and Manoharā has much in common with Rāma's ring in the Rāmāyaṇa epic: it serves as a messenger and an ambassador, and symbolizes the initial step of the reunification of lovers. Similarly, the *cuḍamaṇi* of Sītā, is akin to that of Manoharā in presenting a "female" counterpart to the "male" ring. In the instance of Manoharā it also represents the key to her special powers and the independence she relinquishes.

[12] This second exchange is not to be found in the Divyāvadāna.

[13] In the Divyāvadāna Sudhana first meets with the hunter Phālaka before setting off in search of Manoharā (Jaini 1966:551).

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episode. Also not portrayed is the arduous and exotic journey that Sudhana endeavors to find Manoharā, one that in Tatelman's view is "a film version of which would tax the special-effects technologies of even the wealthiest modern studios." (Tatelman 2005:21). The absence of Sudhana's travels is somewhat difficult to explain, particularly since in the Divyāvadāna it is recounted twice; first by Manoharā to the sage and then, in a somewhat redundant manner, by the sage to Sudhana.[14] The omission is stranger still for the sculptors of Candi Borobudur who were clearly skilled in the depiction of imaginative locations and details, as evidenced later on in the adventures of Maitrakanyaka.

It may therefore be proposed that in addition to the sculptors modifying episodes for narrative efficiency or to emphasize the virtues that these parables embodied, they were also compelled to delineate human emotions. The episodic material depicted in this mid-section of the story at Candi Borobudur clearly clusters around the sentiments of lost love, separation and longing; these sentiments stand at the core of the Classical Javanese poetic tradition.

This emphasis continues to evolve in the next scene of this story that now cuts directly to the discovery of Manoharā and the placing of the signet ring in a jar of water that is being prepared for her bath. As the Divyāvadāna relates:

> That city, not far off, surrounded by lovely parks and
> gardens,
> With many kinds of flowers and fruit, frequented
> by various species of birds,
> Provided with ponds and tanks and filled with
> *kinnaris*.
> And there Súdhana saw some *kinnaris* who had come
> to draw water. (Tatelman 2005:296-297)

The sculptors have clearly captured a very specific moment in the story — three *kinnarī* maidens on the left of an evocatively detailed lotus pond stand prepared to pour water over Manoharā so that she might cleanse herself of the "stink" of human contact. Three more *kinnarī*s to the right of the pond proceed in its direction with water jugs in their arms, while a seventh is delayed by Sudhana. She sits in obeisance as he drops the ring in the water. This pictorial closely parallels the Divyāvadāna at this juncture of the story, for when Sudhana inquires about the procedure for Manoharā's bath, specifically whether the jars of water are to be poured over her simultaneously or one at a time. It appears that the sculptors have tried to simulate the response of the *kinnarī* — that the maidens will pour the water one by one — through processional nature of the waterbearing attendants. Upon learning this information, Sudhana requests that the ringbearing *kinnarī* be the first to bathe Manoharā (Fig.1).

One more aspect of this episode may now be revealed. Krom identified this scene as having a

[14] This is also a characteristic of the Pāli and Thai recensions of the story.

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Fig.1: Bas-relief 16, first terrace wall. Adapted from Krom and Van Erp (1920).

lotus pond that was possibly removed in its location from the area of the palace and the "kinnara-city"; the edifice on the left was only an indication that a palace was nearby (Krom 1923:258). This building is as resplendent as the depiction of the palace that the princess flees in Hāstinapura, yet its details — such as the multiplicity of *stūpikā*s and ascending central staircase — suggest that it is depiction of a Javanese *candi*, or religious shrine. Considering the purifying nature of Manoharā's bath, as well as the integral and sacred relationship between *caṇḍi*s, *padmasamūha*s and *tīrtha*s in Classical Java, it can be understood why Candi Borobudur's sculptors chose spiritual environs as the backdrop for this significant episode. Moreover, a close scrutiny of the relief panel alludes to the inclusion of another figure directly to the left of *padmasamūha*, for the depiction of an arm extending into the water cannot possibly belong to the most adjacent water-bearing *kinnarī*. This maiden's left arm supports the pitcher on top of her head, and even a talented contortionist could not convolute herself into the position that this figure's torso takes in relation to its head. This extra appendage holds a long, cylindrical object that appears to be placed, or removed, in the pond. It is therefore possible that long before the vicissitudes of time wore away this section of the relief panel, Manoharā once stood primed to enter her purifying bath.

The most significant components of this highpoint of the drama — the finding of Manoharā, the hiding of the ring and its anticipated discovery by the story's heroine — have all been encapsulated into this one panel. This interpretation resonates with the depiction of these events in the paintings of Cave 1 at Ajanta where the artists delineated these same episodic details with equal weight.[15]

[15] At Ajanta, these events seem to unfold in a rather illogical progression, with a scene on the right of Sudhana meeting with a *kinnarī* water-bearer, succeeded by a depiction of Manoharā discovering the ring on the left corner of the wall above the doorway. The other two extant episodes of sequence are the hiding of Sudhana by Manoharā followed by her appearance before her father, King Druma where she attempts to convince him of her lover's worthiness. These subsequent episodes are sandwiched in between the prior two. What gives the impression of a rather haphazard approach to narrative sequencing was actually a method popularized by the artists of Ajanta, and given the term "narrative network" by Vidya Dehejia (Dehejia 1991:51).

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At Candi Borobudur Sudhana now undertakes two challenges at the request of King Druma to prove his worthiness to be Manoharā's husband. In the first he is portrayed accomplishing an archery contest. The second trial depicted in the 18th relief of the series has led to diverse interpretations, and the complexities of the literary parallels only fuel this inconclusiveness (Fig. 2). The narrative at

Fig. 2: Bas-relief 18, first terrace wall. Adapted from Krom and Van Erp (1920).

Candi Borobudur relates Sudhana's attempt to identify his beloved Manoharā amid a group of *kinnarīs*. To the right of the composition an enthroned Druma and his queen, surrounded by attendants, oversee the test; on the left a group of seven *kinnarīs* sit in a traditional Javanese pendopo, an open-air audience hall. These two compositional groupings frame a central character — a regal personage haloed by a nimbus that has alternatively been identified as Sudhana,[16] or the god Śakra (Pāli: Sakka).[17] The inclusion of a nimbus is an inconsistent iconographic trait at Candi Borobudur. Moreover, it has been recognized that the interpretation of a single character may vary in differing portrayals on this monument. Therefore "looks can often be deceiving" and items of apparel and adornment — both worldly and divine — have proven to be unreliable indicators of status or identity among Caṇḍi Borobudur's narrative sequences.

In regards to the written versions of this episode, the Divyāvadāna refers to a thousand *kinnarīs* in this test of recognition; Sudhana recites a verse that compels Manoharā to step forward. The Pāli version specifically denotes only seven *kinnarī* maidens *(sattakaṅṅāyo)* — the same number that appears in this episode at Candi Borobudur as well as in the scene of the Sudhana's planting of the ring in Manoharā's bathing water. Delving further into the Pāli recension in the hope of finding other

[16] Krom claimed that the nimbus and ornate dress of this figure acknowledged Sudhana's status as a bodhisattva, even though it is the only relief among the series to follow this convention (Krom 1927:260).

[17] Jaini identified the figure as Śakra due to the inclusion of a standard with a conch shell. He claimed that while this emblem is associated in India and Java with Viṣṇu, in the Pāli tradition it is associated with Śakra (Jaini 1966:553). Fontein is of the belief that this iconographic trait appearing only in this one episode featuring Śakra at Candi Borobudur was not a substantial enough reason to associate this image with the god. He instead offered Sudhana as this identity of this figure (Fontein 1981:92-93).

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commonalities one learns that Śakra (Sakka) performed a greater role in these variations of the story; this trait continues in the later Thai and Burmese traditions as well.[18] In the *Sudhana-jātaka*, Sakka intervenes and creates a golden fly that will hover around Manoharā's head so she can easily be picked out by the prince. In Jaini's study of this tale of lovers, he cites a later Burmese play in which each of the seven *kinnarīs* puts a finger through a screen and Sudhana must then find Manoharā by identifying her finger. After he prays for a sign, a bee settles on Manoharā's finger (Jaini 1966:556-557).[19] At Candi Borobudur the seven *kinnarīs* have both hands in sight, therefore the sculptors were not following a forerunner of this Burmese "finger test".

Confirming the identity of the central, halo-framed character appears to be essential for understanding this sculptural narrative in its entirety. Irrespective of the unpredictability of iconographic details and the inconsistency of character depiction at Candi Borobudur, this tall and long-limbed figure has strong affinities with the portrayal of the major deities featured in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* in the terraces above. It shares their elongated bodies and fluid, dance-like postures. When comparing this image to one of Śakra in this same avadāna series on the First Terrace Wall, similarities are even more evident. In the 49th relief of the series, Śakra appears in the story of Māndhātara, the overly ambitious king who will fall to earth and meet his demise. Śakra is on the left of the composition. His downward glance suggests that he has decided how to resolve the problem with his would-be competitor, or perhaps has just accomplished the task. He extends his right hand in the *varada-hasta* while standing with the left leg bent and the heel raised. The ball of his foot presses into the ground.[20] The figure in the second test of Sudhana is in the same *sthāna*, albeit in reverse. It may therefore be determined that the posture and gesture of this god serve as identifiers and in this instance Śakra demonstrates the *varada-hasta* to bestow his assistance upon Sudhana in this tricky task.[21]

Identifying this long-bodied figure as the god Śakra does not indicate that Sudhana is absent from the scene, for he is a vital ingredient for the successful narration of this episode. He may be found to the extreme left, behind the pendopo. The fact that he identifies his beloved from behind, without the need of a facial recognition, suggests that he is indeed selecting Manoharā by means of a sign given

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[18] In one of the Thai versions of the Sudhana and Manoharā story, preserved in manuscript form in Wat Klāng in Songkla, Southern Thailand, Śakra not only helps Sudhana identify Manoharā, but he also attends the reunion of the lovers and the related ceremonies (Ginsburg 1987:125). In the Cambodian version, the entire court travels to Indra's heaven where the god judges whether or not Sudhana and Manoharā should be reunited.

[19] Jaini notes that this play, "The Silver Hill", was translated into English by A. Fytche in 1878.

[20] Śakra appears again in this First Terrace Wall series in the *Dharmagaveṣin,* first as a *yakṣa* and then in a divine form receiving homage. These do not provide a good means of comparison with the two images under discussion where the god is shown in an active, narrative context.

[21] Jaini also suggests that he is invisible to all except Sudhana, for the other characters in the relief do not look in his direction (Jaini 1966:554). However, characteristic of the Candi Borobudur narratives is a certain "disconnect" between groups of personages and main characters in many of the compositions, particularly in court scenes where male attendants, ladies-in-waiting, and courtiers all enrich the settings through their use as prop devices. This contrasts to the Hindu epic narratives at the Loro Jonggrang temple complex where secondary "actors" enforce the dramatic context of each episode.

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by Śakra, perhaps by the appearance of the golden fly. This new interpretation of this episode now adds another concordance between the version told at Candi Borobudur and a Pāli variant of the story.

The final two scenes depict the celebration at the court of Druma, with a solo dancer that has captivated and intrigued dance scholars and art historians alike for over a century, Having once again feeling the pangs and torment of separation — this time the result of his absence from his parents — the narrative sculptural series culminates with the return of Sudhana and Manoharā to Hāstinapura, where he appears before his father. Sudhana recounts his adventures in the land of the *kinnarī*s, enabling his father to recognize his son's power and heroic strength. Sudhana is then consecrated as king. At Candi Borobudur his benevolence is implied by this final view of Manoharā and Suddhana distributing gifts to a group of mendicants and Hāstinapura subjects.

Despite revised readings of several of the pictorial representations of the Sudhana and Manoharā legend at Candi Borobudur, one still cannot explain why this romantic tale of a worldly prince whose great love for a *kinnarī* — one that led to his shunning of his royal responsibilities and his potential political downfall — was so strongly accented in the monument's narrative program. Nor does the Wagnerian theme of redemption through love appear to resonate with codes of Buddhist morality. The avadāna stories, however, are much more eclectic than traditionally perceived. In the instance of the Divyāvadāna, which may represent a compilation of narrative material dating as early as the beginning of the Common Era, stories may be traced to ordination traditions, sūtra variants, classical *kāvyas* as well as the Mūlasarvāstivādin Buddhist legacy (Tatelman 2005:18-19). The nature of the Sudhana and Manoharā legend suggests that it was originally a localized romance that was incorporated into a Buddhist environment.[22]

They may also be perceived as eclectic in their mission. The Divyāvdānas, as Andy Rotman has written, "... contain and embody rules and practices that are integral to a Buddhist identity; in fact they are an amalgam of rules, etiological accounts, and foretellings that function as a complex and interlinking moral code" (Rotman 2008:2). While acknowledging their primary didactic function, he soundly states that "... along the way to their ultimate lessons they create diverse moral worlds, showing different ways of thinking and being, and portray characters interacting and commenting on their engagements with these worlds" (Rotman 2008:3). Therefore it is not just the moral values of Buddhism that are imbued in Sudhana's story, but his resolutions to challenges and qualities such as perseverance, devotion, and heroism that are also lessons to be learned.

These significances are underscored in the textual versions of the story. In the beginning of the *Sudhanakumāradivyāvadāna,* the Buddha narrates this tale to a king to demonstrate how he, in an existence as Prince Sudhana prior to his attainment of "Perfect Awakening", undertook donations, meritorious deeds, and fulfilled the "Perfection of Energy" (Tatelman 2005:221).[23] He tells the king,

[22] Dieter Schlingloff is also of the belief that the story of Sudhana and Manoharā must not have been of a Buddhist origin (Schlingloff 1988:76).

[23] In the *Kinnarī-jātaka* of the *Mahāvastu,* the Buddha relates the narrative to monks to demonstrate how his wife Yaśodharā was won as his wife through his *khedeṇa, śrameṇa* and *vīryeṇa* (Jaini 1966:535).

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> "As for my demonstrating might, manliness and heroism on account of Mano-hara and for twelve years unstintingly carrying out sacrificial rituals — at that time I had not attained unexcelled, Supreme Perfect Awakening, but rather that liberality and energy were no more than causes, bases and prerequisites of unexcelled Supreme, Perfect Awakening."(Tatelman 2005:306-307)

Vīrya and *dharma* were not only desirable, but also attainable goals for the royal devotees of Candi Borobudur. These qualities, embodied in the story of Sudhana and Manoharā, may not ensure the immediate achievement of "Perfect Awakening", but righteous behavior, fervent devotion and the fulfillment of obligation lead one further along this path. This legend of two lovers, recounted at Candi Borobudur through a myriad of courtly audiences and rituals, interactions between rulers and royal progeny, the making of both political alliances and enemies, and receiving guidance from spiritual leaders as well as the divine, join other avadānas of the First Terrace Wall that also relate the parables of kings and personages of high-ranking status. Similar to those stories illustrated in Cave 1 at Ajanta, it may be perceived that these too were specifically intended to reverberate with the royal patrons of this great sacred monument.

This legend's happy ending within the Buddhist tradition can now be comprehended.[24] Romance and love is universal — a welcome aspect of the human condition. As one ascends above Candi Borobudur's *Kāmadhātu*, the story of Sudhana and Manoharā serves both as an architechtonic and narrative segue from worldly experiences to the positive qualities that can be learned and achieved through romantic love — devotion, perseverance, courage, heroism and redemption after errors of behavior.[25] The First Terrace is devoted to those still tied to the relationships and emotional responses that define humanity. Here they are inspired to the greater release epitomized by the *Lalitavistara* directly above — the story of the Buddha's life through his First Sermon and the inauguration of his teachings.

There is one other dimension of this tale that resonates with Javanese of Candi Borobudur's epoch. While, the theme of romantic love explodes with human emotionality and creative possibilities, the loss of love through separation and unresolved longing are themes that were much explored by the Javanese *kawis* — the poets of Classical Java– for their emotive qualities. These ideals became expressed in the aesthetic of *langö*, which equally means the rapture of love as well as its absence and longing (Zoetmulder 1982:976). The seeds of this cultural paradigm are inherent in the enhanced lamentations of Sīta and Rāma during their separation in the Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin. Similarly, the magnified passages of the Divyāvadāna related to Manoharā's absence and Sudhana's longing — suggested pictorially by the sculptors' episodic emphases at Candi Borobudur

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[24] From another valid viewpoint, Tatelman rationalizes the happy ending and romantic nature of this Buddhist parable in the Divyāvadāna because it takes place in the past; therefore it does not conflict with the renunciative goals of Buddhism (Tatelman 2005:21).

[25] This author suspects that the unidentified parable depicted in the few reliefs succeeding the story of Sudhana and Manoharā at Borobudur (#21-24), which includes a portrayal of a regal couple admiring a "portrait" of a foreign princess, has a similar romantic theme underlying its Buddhist *nidāna*.

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— are incipient expressions of Langö. They are forerunners of the aesthetic cult that experienced efflorescence in the poetic and visual arts of the subsequent Eastern Javanese period.

Among the treasures in the Museum Nasional in Jakarta is a Central Javanese ring with an inscription reading "Sudhana".[26] In the spirit of another Javanese cultural phenomenon— a love of multivalence — one would like to believe that the original owner of this sacred object selected it for inspiration and in honor of both Sudhanas featured at Candi Borobudur. Its wearer endeavored to practice heroic valor, determination, and generosity, and then strove onwards to become imbued with the teachings of the *kalyāṇamitra*s and divine beings in the more spiritual realms above.

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A new date of a painting of the *Śiwarātrikalpa**

Peter Worsley

It is a great honour to have been invited to contribute to the present felicitation volume to honour Professor Lokesh Chandra. He has made a considerable contribution to the study of ancient Java and Bali. It seemed appropriate that I might contribute an essay, exploring the significance which a nineteenth-century Balinese painter and his audience attached to the narrative of Rāma, which they knew from manuscripts of a mid-ninth to mid-tenth century ancient Javanese *kakawin*,[1] and the significance of a date it bore for the dating of a temple valence which recounted the narrative of another late kakawin, the *Śiwarātrikalpa*.

Introduction

In 1969, Teeuw et al. published an edition and translation of the kakawin Śiwarātrikalpa. In the same volume, Galestin published a detailed description of a number of Balinese paintings of the same narrative, including one on a Balinese temple valence (*idĕr-idĕr*). The painting belonged in the collection of the Dutch painter Charley Sayers, which the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam had purchased in 1950 (acquisition number 809-152). It is 808 cm. in length and 28 cm. in width and had been cut off on its right hand end so that one or more scenes were missing. In 1970 the missing piece of this painting was found in the same collection (acquisition number 809.158) (Worsley 1970). It was 80cm. long and 28 cm. wide and contained the remainder of the scene through which the cut in the painting had been made together with the final scene in the painting. Importantly on the back of the painting there was an inscription, only partially legible, in which the painter indicated the date when he had completed the painting. On the basis of what could be read of this inscription

*I would like to thank Professor Adrian Vickers and Dominique Renault who read earlier drafts of the chapter.

[1] The date I have given for the date of the Old Javanese epic kakawin Rāmāyaṇa is intended to reflect the various opinions of scholars on this subject. The dating of this epic work remains a matter of debate. Zoetmulder (1974:230-33), following Poerbatjaraka (1932), concludes that the work appears to have been written before the time of Sindok, thus before 930 CE. De Casparis (1956:287-8) in his discussion of a metrical Old Javanese inscription of 856 CE raised the possibility of a date prior to 930 CE., and in 1969 Aichele proposed a date in the mid-ninth century and associated the work with the Javanese ruler Pikatan. See Robson (1980; 1983) for comment on Aichele's arguments. The most recent review of the date, authorship and provenance of the kakawin Rāmāyaṇa is that of Amrit Gomperts in a draft paper presented at an international workshop on the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa. Gomperts presents good arguments in support of a date in the first half of the tenth century.

The kakawin Rāmāyaṇa was widely read in Bali over many centuries. The identification of the scenes on the temple valence we are discussing suggests that its painter knew well the details of those parts of the text of this work which he set out to illustrate.

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I suggested a date of (1)849 Śaka (= 1918 CE) but in a footnote indicated that the cipher for the hundreds '8' was unclear and it was possible that the cipher was '7' which meant that the painting might have been completed 100 years earlier in (1)749 Śaka (= 1817/18 CE).

In 1982 in an article describing an illustrated manuscript of the Śiwarātrikalpa, Vickers pointed out that the 'style' of the valence did 'not agree at all with that of any of the Kamasan artists practising in 1918'. He referred in particular to one feature of style: the manner in which skin folds on the necks of characters are represented in the painting. Vickers pointed out that in an illustrated manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa on European paper with a watermark dating between 1811 and 1815, in the illustrated manuscript of the Śiwarātrikalpa which he was discussing and in an old painting on bark cloth in the Forge collection, necks were shown with two skin folds in the middle and at the base of the neck. In later paintings from the later 19th and the 20th centuries there was one skin fold in the middle of the neck and two at the base. This, Vickers argued, was evidence of the earlier date of 1818 CE for the valence.

Recently a viewing of paintings in the collections of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam brought to light another fine old valence which was also part of the Charley Sayers collection (acquisition number 809-154). The painting is an impressive 1335 cm. in length and 31 cm. wide. It is of high quality. The drawing and colouring are masterful, the product of an energetic and experienced hand. There is evidence along the upper edge, in the form of small ties and holes where there had once been ties, that the painting had been hung by its upper edge probably around the eves of a large pavilion given the length of the painting. On it, scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa are painted.[2]

Identification of the scenes

There are seven scenes formally separated from each other by *karang* motifs which indicate the course of the narrative in the painting. They illustrate events from *Sargas* 15 and 20 of the account of the story of Rāma in the epic kakawin and in some of their details suggest that the painter worked from this version of the story:[3]

Scene 1:

The first scene depicts an audience in which Rāma greets Rāwaṇa's brother Wibhīṣaṇa who has withdrawn his support from his brother and sided with Rāma. We see Rāma and behind him his brother Lakṣmaṇa in the middle of the scene. They are seated on a raised stone next to a tree with a tree fern attached to its trunk and surrounded at its base by rocks and pandanus plants. They sit above the commanders of the monkey army who kneel respectfully in front and behind Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. There are eight monkey commanders in front of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa including

[2] I wish to thank the Tropenmuseum for their assistance when I viewed the painting and especially for making the photograph of the date on the painting available to me for this publication.

[3] The Tropenmuseum's records correctly identify the painting as one illustrating scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa. Van Stein Callenfels viewed the painting on 11th November 1936 and identified the scenes involving Indrajit at the end of the painting.

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Sugrīwa, the monkey king, and Hanumān, and behind them, there are seven more, making fifteen in total.[4] In front of Rāma, kneeling on the ground beside the tree with his hands clasped and raised to below his chin in respect is the figure of Wibhīṣaṇa. Immediately under Lakṣmaṇa are the two *parĕkan*, Twalen and Mredah and in front of them under the tree two dogs are pictured on either side of a flaming *kāla* head. The rock motifs along the underside of this scene and *karang*-scene-dividing-motifs indicate that the audience takes place in the open air.

Scene 2:

The second scene is separated from the first by *karang* motifs which signal that the painting is at this point to be read from left to right. The next scene is by far the longest of the painting. It depicts the battle between Rāma's monkey army and that of Rāwaṇa, the king of Lĕngkā. In fact the scene is divided into a series of short vignettes of one-to-one combat between Rāma's commanders and their demon opponents. The scene is filled with flying rocks and weapons and still smaller depictions of struggles between lesser opponents.

The first vignette depicts the fight between the monkey commander Sampati armed with a large club and the demon Prajangga, an expert kick boxer. The vignette captures the moment when Prajangga's leg was about to strike Sampati and when the latter's club was on the point of coming down on Prajangga's head (RY 20.7–14).

The second vignette depicts the fight between Nala and the two demons, Sphuṭadakṣi and Pratapanākṣi and captures the moment when Nala, having despatched Sphuṭadakṣi with a blow of his bare hand, seizes Pratapanākṣi by the legs and is swinging him around before smashing him on the ground (RY 20.15–19).

In the third vignette, we see under a depiction of the sun,[5] Hanumān in battle with Jambumālī who is armed with a sharp sword. The painting catches the moment when Hanumān seizes Jambumālī and smashes him to the ground with a large rock. Here a small difference with the epic text is discernible. In the latter, Hanumān smashes Jambumālī to his death on a large rock (*yângsö sang Bāyuputrân pisani ya katibā yan tibêng parwwatâgöng,* RY 20.24).

In the third vignette we see Rāwaṇa's brother, Wibhīsaṇa on the left, swinging the club with which he is about to kill the demon Mitraghna (RY 20.24).

Following this last vignette are depicted a group whom the epic kakawin describes as seers, and *gandharwa* come to the battlefield to honour the slain warriors. At the head of the group on the right are two seers, depicted as brahmin priests, and behind them three female *gandharwa*, the

[4] A number of these can be identified on the basis of a comparison between the epic kakawin's account of the battles between the commanders and their counterparts in Rāwaṇa's army illustrated in scene 2. They are to the left of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, from left to right, Saṁpati, Nala, Mainda, Nīla, Drawiḍa and Aṅggada. Sugrīwa and Hanumān kneel opposite Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. See below page 4-7 for the description of scene 2.

[5] See Vickers (2009). In the *Kapiparwa* the story of Hanumān's birth is recounted. Following his birth, the young Hanumān, who is very hungry, is told by his mother, Anjani, to seek something red in the east. Hanumān finds Āditya, the Sun God, and tries to consume the sun. He is prevented from doing so but granted great power.

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first of whom carries a jar of holy water and her companions, two offerings. Behind them are two male *gandharwa* carrying fans (?). These characters are easily identified by the fact that they are portrayed floating in the air. As they make their way across the battlefield amidst flying arrows their feet do not touch the ground, as do those of other characters in the painting (RY 20.27–8).

Directly in front of the two seers is the fourth vignette of hand-to-hand fighting. On this occasion it is Sugrīwa who fights Praghāsa. Both have smashed each other's clubs and Sugrīwa has struck Praghāsa on the chest crushing it into a thousand pieces (RY 20.26).

In the fifth vignette of hand-to-hand conflict we see Mainda and the diamond fisted Bajramuṣṭi. The painting captures the moment when Mainda has torn off Bajramuṣṭi's head and is about to hurl it away (RY 20.29).

Then we see Rāma's brother Lakṣmaṇa firing an arrow into the heart of Wirūpākṣa who falls to the ground (RY 20.34).

The seventh vignette is of the monkey Nīla doing battle with Anikumbha. He has seized Anikumbha, who wields a huge club, and is in the process of biting off the latter's head (RY 20.30–32).

There is one more depiction of hand-to-hand battle between one of the monkey commanders and a demon who, falls to the ground dead (his eyeballs are rolled upwards). The monkey commander appears to have strangled him or be in the process of cutting him in two with a wire. The epic kakawin records no such death. The very last of the hand-to-hand struggles which the epic work describes is between the monkey Drawiḍa and the demon Asaniprabha. However, in this case Asaniprabha is clubbed to death (RY 34).

We come now to the final and much longer vignette. It begins on the left with a procession of ten of the monkey commanders all of whom are hybrid monkeys.[6] Sugrīwa stands at their head, behind Wibhīṣaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma who are all pictured watching a fight between a monkey general, Anggada, who wields a tree trunk and his opponent, Indrajit, who armed with a club turns amid fallen bodies and a hail of flying weapons to flee from harm's way (RY 20.35–6).

Scene 3:

The third scene is separated from the second by karang motifs. Again they point the way to the right. On the other side of the scene, however, the karang motifs point in the opposite direction, to the left, indicating that the remaining four scenes in the painting are to be read in the reverse order. That is from right to left. The two sequences of scenes running opposite directions point to this third scene as the climax of the painting's narrative. We shall give a brief description of this scene and deal with it in detail later when we have completed the identification of the remaining scenes.

In the middle of the scene lying under a tree we see Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bound in the coils of Indrajit's snake arrow. To their right and to the right of the tree we see the kneeling Wibhīṣaṇa,

[6] See Forge 1978: painting 16 for depictions and description of the hybrid *peluarga*.

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Sugrīwa, Hanumān and a third monkey commander. To the left of the entrapped figures of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa stand four seers dressed as brahmin priests, each of whom gestures as if to speak.

Our search for the narrative must now move to the right hand end of the painting to read the narrative from right to left: scenes 7, 6, 5, and finally 4.

Scene 7:

This, the final scene of the painting, depicts Rāwaṇa giving audience. The scene is the counterpart of the first scene at the other end of the painting in which Rāma, in the presence of his monkey commanders gives audience to Wibhīṣaṇa. In it we see Rāwaṇa standing facing to the left his hand raised in a gesture indicating that he is speaking. Behind him stand the parĕkan Sangut and a small demon, both kneeling, and behind them five male figures of high status, each with a *supit urang* hair knot. One of these figures may indeed be Indrajit, who we will see plays a crucial role in bringing about the moment of crisis which we have briefly described in scene 3. In front of Rāwaṇa — on the other side of a tree with a tree fern attached to its trunk and surrounded by rocks and pandanus plants — kneels Delem, the other parĕkan and behind him a demon general in front of two rows of demons who kneel respectfully and whom Rāwaṇa is addressing.

Scene 6:

The second scene in this second sequence is separated from the previous scene by karang motifs signalling that we are to read the scenes in this part of the painting from right to left. This small scene pictures Rāwaṇa's son, Indrajit, kneeling on the left of the scene under a tree addressing or honouring a *nāga* who rests on a pedestal on the other side of the tree. Behind Indrajit are two parĕkan, Delem and Sangut. According to the epic kakawin's account of the story, Indrajit is seething with anger at his defeat and the death of his horses and destruction of his chariot at the hand of Anggada. He has entered a temple, there to honour his snake-arrow and through the power of his meditation to become invisible (RY 20.52–4).

Scene 5:

Karang motifs also separate scene 5 from scene 6 and again indicate that we should continue to read the narrative sequence from right to left. In the scene we see Indrajit on the right with two parĕkan, Delem and Sangut, in tow, dancing his way, legs splayed, across the field of battle towards a group of small monkeys of low status who cower before the oncoming Indrajit. The depiction of stars starting in the previous scene and around the three figures of Indrajit and the two parĕkan in this one, suggest that they are depicted descending from the sky. The epic poem, in the passage describing Indrajit's return to the battlefield, tells us that he was invisible (RY 20.55–58). However later, when Wibhīṣaṇa goes in search of him, the epic tells us that he catches sight of Indrajit in the heavens (RY 20.75). Indeed the painter perhaps intended this scene in the painting to be read twice, recounting two moments of drama: Indrajit's arrival on the battlefield and then the moment of his escape from Wibhīṣaṇa's wrath.

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Scene 4:

In scene 4 — again separated from the previous scene by karang motifs indicating that we are to continue to read the painting from right to left — we see Indrajit pictured on the right, bow in hand and in the company of the same two parĕkan. On this occasion Wibhīṣaṇa, also bow in hand, confronts him. Between them on the ground are the crowd of small monkeys we saw in the previous scene but now trapped within the coils of one of Indrajit's snake-arrows. Indrajit has turned to flee and looks back over his shoulder in the direction of Wibhīṣaṇa.

The scene portrays a second moment of action. Behind Wibhīṣaṇa we see Indrajit again bow in (his left) hand and his right in the air and behind him the Delem and Sangut. On the ground in front of him lie first the two parĕkan, Twalen and Mredah, trapped in the coils of one of Indrajit's snake arrows and further away also on the ground under a tree we also see Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa caught tightly in the coils of another of Indrajit's powerful snake arrows.

With this we have arrived back at scene 3, which pictures the moment of greatest drama in the paintings narrative. As we have seen, in this scene, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa lie trapped in the coils of Indrajit's snake arrow and unable to move. Four seers depicted as brahmin priests and Wibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīwa, Hanumān and one other monkey general are witness to their plight. In the epic poem this is a moment of high drama too. Not only do the monkey warriors bemoan their own fate but also their inability to have prevented Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa falling victim to Indrajit's snake arrow. Sitā too, brought to the battlefield sees Rāma and believing him to be dead prepares to die. Even Rāma is so disheartened that he prepares for his own demise. It is only when seers descend and praise him as God Wiṣṇu that the bonds of the snake arrow burst asunder and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are freed to take up arms once more against Rāwaṇa's army (RY 21.125-49). The painter has chosen to depict the moment when the seers begin their song of praise to Rāma as God Wiṣṇu.

It is at this moment of crisis, of battle unresolved that the painter has placed an inscription just behind the head of the snake arrow binding Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and in front of Wibhīṣaṇa's face. The date reads '1768' Śaka (= 1846 CE).[7] This date and the moment of its narrative timing is important for two reasons. In the first place we shall argue that it has implications for the dating of the valence painting of the Śiwarātrikalpa which we mentioned at the beginning of this essay and in the second the date may have significance for the occasional meaning of the painting for the date signals a moment of great political crisis in Bali.

The date of the valence Śiwarātrikalpa

First, what significance does this date have for the dating of the painting of the Śiwarātrikalpa

[7] See Fig.1 want to acknowledge here the help of Dr. Willem van der Molen of the Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies. I had first been inclined to think that the inscription might have been the name of a character or perhaps the *nāga* arrow. Dr. van der Molen suggested that the inscription in the painting was a date. The flourishes on the right side of the ciphers for '1', '7' and '8' are similar to the ones in the colophon on the back of the Śiwarātrikalpa painting (Worsley 1970:351 and plate III).

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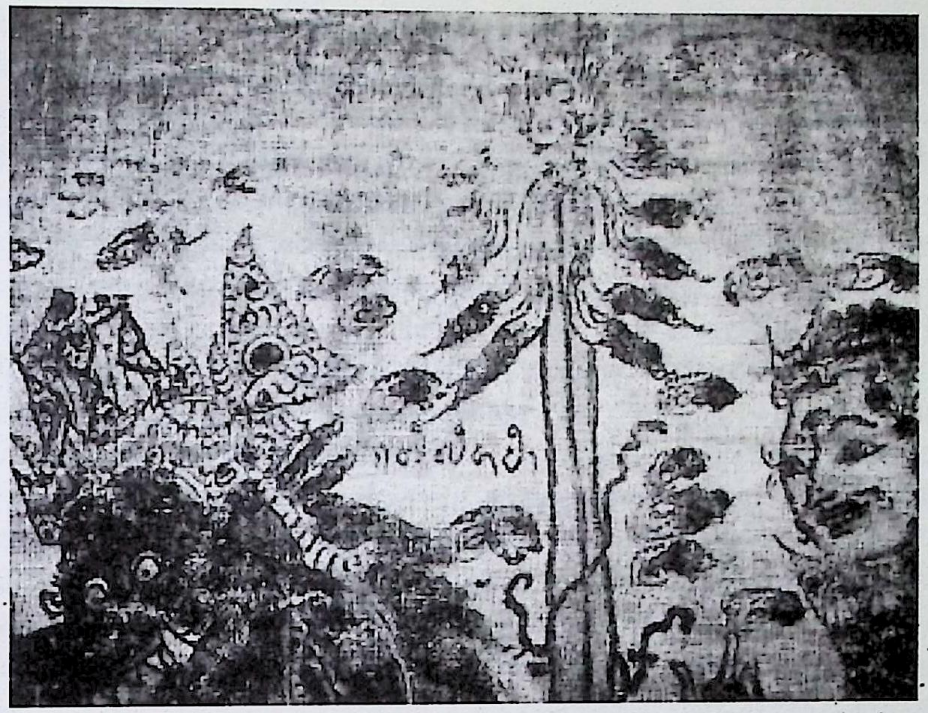

Fig.1: Valence Rāmāyaṇa Scene 3 (Detail).
Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam 809-152

narrative on the temple valence? There are a number of good reasons to think that the selfsame hand painted both paintings as well as two others in the McPhee Collection in the Museum of Natural History in New York.[8]

We do not have sufficient space in this essay to discuss at length similarities in the details of iconography and the drawing and colouring in these four paintings.[9] However, if we confine our

[8] The acquisition numbers of these two paintings are 70.2.1107 and 70.2.1121. The Museum's records contain notes prepared by Adrian Vickers in which he identifies these two paintings as follows:

'70.2.1121 (531 cm. in length and 32 cm. wide) is a painting of a story from the Ādiparwa. It depicts first the story of the conflict between the priest Paraśu Rāma and King Arjuna Sahasrabāhu and then the story of King Janamejaya's snake sacrifice.'

'70.2.1107 (292 cm. in length and 36 cm. wide) is a continuation of the story of King Janamejaya's snake sacrifice in 70.2.1121 and then begins on the story which follows this in the *Ādiparwa*.'

This recounts the story of Veda's pupil Uttangka and King Pauṣya (Vickers unpublished paper). Vickers goes on to comment as follows:

'These two *idĕr-idĕr* are identical in content to one presently used in the Pura (Temple) Bale Batur in Kamasan. The present-day Bale Batur paintings were executed in 1918. The style of the two in the McPhee collection is very similar to one of the Śiwarātrikalpa story now in Leiden (sic), which was executed in 1818. Thus there is a strong possibility that these two *idĕr-idĕr*, also date from around that time, and that they were replaced about 100 years after their initial creation. They are works of the highest quality.'

One should add to these comments that McPhee and Sayers were in Bali in the 1930s and were in a position to purchase the four paintings we are discussing at about the same time.

[9] The present author is currently working on a comparison of the iconography, drawing and colouring of all four of these paintings.

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attention to the valences of the Śiwarātrikalpa and Rāmāyana for the moment, they give the impression of being very similar, and if there is any difference between them at all, it is that the drawing of the painter of the Śiwarātrikalpa valence is finer but more restrained than is the case with the valence of the Rāmāyana we are discussing, where a more mature hand was at work, at once bolder and freer. Such a difference in drawing and iconographic detail would be quite in keeping if we were able to date the Śiwarātrikalpa to 1740 Śaka (= 1818 CE) and the Rāmāyana 1768 Śaka (= 1846 CE). In the case of the first painting the painter was 28 years younger than he was when he came to paint the second, late in life.

There is then a remarkable resemblance in the design of both paintings. In the first place, both are valences, and both are exceptionally long, one more than eight metres in length and the other over thirteen. Both contain two sequences of scenes, the first and the longest beginning at the left hand end of the painting and the second shorter sequence beginning on the right hand end of the cloth. Furthermore, while the two narratives in these two paintings are different there is a predilection on the part of the painter in both for audience scenes and scenes of battle and a similarity in the design and execution of the battle scenes in both paintings: in each case they consist of a series of separate vignettes of hand-to-hand fights between protagonists from opposing armies who can be identified from the narratives of the two epic kakawin.

Now that it seems possible that we have cause to think that both paintings were the work of one and the same painter, we have also have reason to accept that the doubtful cipher for the hundreds in the inscription on the back of the valence of the Śiwarātrikalpa should be read as a 7 and not an 8 and so to date the painting to 1740 Śaka (= 1817/18 CE). We have firmer grounds then to accept Vickers' arguments on stylistic grounds that this painting of the Śiwarātrikalpa belonged in the early nineteenth century and not in early twentieth century.

1846 a year of crisis in the Balinese kingdoms

We should not assume that the date on the valence of the Rāmāyana, placed where it is on the painting, is necessarily the date when the painting was finished. While this might well be the case, in contrast to the Śiwarātrikalpa painting, where the date is in a colophon with the clear purpose of dating the moment in time when the painting was completed, the date in the Rāmāyana painting we are discussing appears rather intended to date the event depicted in the painting above which it has been situated.

If this is the case then the significance of the date of 1846 CE rests upon the proposition that the painter assigned an allegorical significance to his painting, one which drew a line of reference between the unresolved conflict in the narrative world of the painting and the political situation of the Balinese kingdoms in the middle of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century when Balinese kings faced the threat of a Dutch usurpation of their power. 1846 was indeed a year of great significance in the history of the relationship between the Government of the Dutch East Indies in Batavia and the kingdoms of Bali. It was the year when the Dutch invader began a serious military campaign to

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pacify the north Balinese kingdom of Buleleng and its Karangasem ally. It was also a time when the Dutch also threatened to attack the 'ceremonial' centre of the Balinese political world in Klungkung.

In June 1846, Governor-General Rochussen, determined to put an end to Balinese piracy and to take advantage of the island's rice production, sent an expedition against the ruler of Buleleng, Gusti Ngurah Made and his younger brother, Gusti Gede Ngurah, the king of Karangasem[10] and their Klungkung ally. The Dutch expedition sacked the village of Buleleng on the coast, and then torched the royal palace further inland at Singaraja, driving the king to seek refuge further to the east in a fortification at Jagaraga. Something of a stalemate was reached, which lasted until mid 1849. On the one hand, as a result of the military campaign of June 1846, the Dutch were able to entrench themselves in the port village of Buleleng where they built a fortress to house a permanent military presence in northern Bali. However on the other, they failed to achieve one of their principal objectives. That was to capture the ruler of Buleleng and exile him in Surabaya. The ruler remained entrenched at Jagaraga and in a position to negotiate a settlement with his attackers.

The Dutch insisted on a treaty which sought to impose severe financial penalties on both Gusti Ngurah Made of Buleleng and Gusti Gede Ngurah of Karangasem. Indeed the conditions imposed on them were so severe that they were left with little choice but, first to sue for conditions less severe, and then, when Governor-General Rochussen rejected their olive branch, to seek other ways and means to drive the Dutch out. First, they cut off the water supply to the Dutch fort in Buleleng in October 1846 and in March 1847 began prohibiting the sale of food supplies to the Dutch. These measures gave rise to a deterioration in the health of the Dutch garrison and finally to the desertion of Javanese soldiers and Madurese coolies from the garrison. Rochussen's response to this situation was to raise the stakes and to threaten not only the kingdoms of Buleleng and Karangasem but Klungkung as well. A second campaign against Buleleng in June 1848 ended disastrously for the Dutch and it was not until mid 1849 that Buleleng and Karangasem were pacified. The ensuing campaign against Klungkung and their southern Balinese allies in June 1849, however, failed and left Klungkung independent. In July a peace treaty was concluded with the rulers of Badung, Gianyar and Tabanan. The treaty was recognised by Klungkung and the Dutch then handed over Buleleng to the ruler of Bangli and withdrew.[11]

As we have suggested above, there are remarkable similarities between the scene in the painting where the two brothers, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa lie trapped in the embrace of the snake arrow of Indrajit, the military intermediary of the demon king Rāwaṇa, and the historical situation of impasse between the Dutch East Indies government and the kingdoms of Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung. Both cases concern two brothers, an older and younger. In the painting they are Rāma and his younger brother Lakṣmaṇa, and in 1846 in Bali, the ruler of Buleleng and his younger

[10] The names of these two kings have been taken from Kraan (1995:34). Hanna (1976:41) gives the name of the king of Buleleng as Gusti Madya Karangasem and that of his younger brother the king of Karangasem, as Gusti Ngurah Made Karangasem. The *Babad Buleleng* refers to the king of Buleleng at this time as Ki Gusti Ngurah Made and to his *patih*, who played a very important role in these events, as Ki Gusti Ketut Jlantik Gingsir (Worsley 1972:196–99).

[11] For good accounts of these events see Kraan (1995) and Schulte Nordholt (1996:159–189).

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brother, the ruler of Karangasem. The two brothers in both the painting and in 1846 in Buleleng and Karangasem find themselves trapped in an impasse as the result of an initial military victory of their enemies. Finally the predicament, as it is portrayed in the narrative world of the painting, as a moment when the praise of Rāma as God Wiṣṇu brings victory in its wake, no doubt nourished the hope of the brother kings of Buleleng and Karangasem and their ally, the Dewa Agung of Klungkung, that they too would be released from the impasse which threatened them and restored to their sovereign authority to rule their kingdoms in Bali.

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King Arjuna Sasrabahu dances in Java

Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen

Scholarly interest in the Javanese courts was never lacking, so quite a lot of information on Javanese court life is available in academic publications. But serious studies on the theatre plays, music and dances that were created and performed for court ceremonies are rather scarce. In fact, a wealth of useful but seldom used information can be found in manuscripts that were written by knowledgeable court artists and are kept in court libraries or private collections in Java and in some libraries outside Indonesia. As an example, I will discuss a type of dance performed during court ceremonies in Central Java, using information from court manuscripts.

Warrior's dances in the nineteenth-century Surakarta court poem "Sri Mataya"

During the nineteenth and first part of the twentieth century the stately female *bedhaya* dances were often performed for royal anniversaries at the courts of Surakarta and Yogyakarta (Brakel-Papenhuyzen 1992:48).[1] Besides, royal anniversaries were also an occasion to stage warrior's dances, as described in a late nineteenth-century literary work entitled *Sri Mataya*, printed in Javanese characters in 1896 (Brakel-Papenhuyzen 1998).[2] According to the cover page this poem was composed by the "man of letters" Ki Padmasusastra for the crown-prince Kangjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom Hamengkunagara Sudibya Rajaputra Narendra Mataram V, who became Susuhunan Paku Buwana X in 1893 AD.

The royal birthday described in the poem takes place ten years earlier, in the year 1883 AD, during the reign of his father, Susuhunan Paku Buwana IX (1861-1893). Painting a lively picture of the celebration, *Sri Mataya*, which may be translated as: "His Majesty dances", describes in metrical poetry two of a total of eight warrior's dances performed at the occasion. The first canto in *Dhandhanggula* metre lists the dances and tells the names and titles of those dancers who are sons of the king:[3]

It does not take long before the royal *wireng* dancers appear from the Andrawina [dining] hall

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[1] Royal birthdays include the so-called '*planet day*' (*tingalan wukon*), that is the return of the ruler's *wuku*-day, and his birthday according to the solar calendar (*tingalan padinan*) (Brakel-Papenhuyzen 1992:48).

[2] The title of the first edition is printed in Latin characters on the cover as: "SJRI MATAJA", and on the first page as: "SJRI MATOJO"; the text itself is printed in Javanese script. A rare copy of this work, printed in 1896, is held in the library of the KITLV in Leiden, while a copy of the second printed edition of 1911 is kept in the library of the Mangkunagaran palace, both published by A. Rusche & Co in Surakarta.

[3] All quotations from Javanese texts have been translated into English by the author.

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with the dance of Jayengsari. Second is the *wireng* dance of Karna and Janaka. The dancers are young princes. Then the third dance of Wirun and Narantaka is performed by

Gusti Kangjeng Pangeran Adipati [the crown prince] with his elder brother, Kangjeng Pangeran Pakuningrat as his partner. The fourth item is the *wireng* dance of Siyung Wanara in a duel with Jaka Sedhah. The performers of this dance are Kangjeng Pangeran Cakraningrat and Kangjeng Pangeran Kusumadilaga. Then the fifth item is

[the dance of] Dananjaya and Sri Gardapati [by] Kangjeng Pangeran Kusumadiningrat in graceful attire, and Kangjeng Pangeran Prabuningrat. Those who dance next are Kangjeng Pangeran Arya Purbadiningrat, and Kangjeng Pangeran Cakraningrat with the dance of Panji and pseudo-Panji of Bali. Well the seventh item is

[the dance of] Raden Semantri and Sri Maespati, that is King Arjuna Sasrabahu. His Highness dances, a *gusti*, the King's son, with Kangjeng Pangeran Kusuma Adiningrat who is pleasant. The eighth item is a vigorous *wireng* dance, the duel of Kumbakarna and king Sugriwa. No mistakes are made. (*Dhandhanggula*, verse 5-9)

Clearly these are not mere battle dances: the characters performing the battles feature in literary works, and the stories in which they occur may also be dramatized as shadow puppet plays (*wayang kulit*). Moreover, the dancers are said to be dressed in *wayang* costumes like painted leather puppets, with *supit urang* hairstyles and beautifully shaped royal crowns and diadems (*Dhandhanggula*, verse 9). Being a eulogy for the ruler, the Sri Mataya only writes about the crown prince's splendid performance; the two dances and the two different costumes worn by him are described in great detail.

Themes of the two dances performed by the crown prince

The crown prince's first dance depicts the battle between Wirun and Narantaka, who are brothers of the well-known Javanese Prince Panji and his opponent King Klana respectively. The two warriors identify themselves in their challenge to battle (*sumbaran*), which is sung in metrical poetry accompanied by gamelan music:

... then, while the *Slepegan* music [is] softly [played], they challenge each other, calling for a duel. Prince Wirun speaks [first]:

"What is your name, warrior? You are handsome and still young, spirited (*branyak*) and with deft movements, you ought to be in the company of a woman. Why don't you retreat, beautiful young man? A pity if you should die."

They challenge each other in turns, expressing themselves in poetic verse. The meaning of their words is heard while they slowly perform dance movements. After one verse is finished, it is answered:

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"If you ask my name, I am Narantaka. King Klana's brother am I, a leader in battle, killing powerful enemies. Well then, and you, where are you going?"

It makes no difference really for him who at the [other] side still dances gently, while he listens to the challenge accompanied by calm dance movements. He quickly answers, watching attentively:

"You must know that I am honoured in poetry, Prince Wirun is my name, brave in [facing] difficulties, a brother of Prince Panji. Everyone knows that Wirun is very powerful. I serve and pay respect to the King of Jenggala."

Being completely reckless in combat, courageous in battle, he is prepared to reveal his power. Narantaka answers again, still speaking in *Mijil* verse:
"Well then, if you intend and desire to fight with weapons, you will not be disappointed Raden, as I have been trained in martial arts since I was young. I am used to do battle." (*Mijil*, verse 10-18)

The theme of the crown prince's second dance is the battle of king Arjuna Sasrabahu and Sumantri, also called patih Suwanda. The reason for their battle is explained in the following verses:

.... splendid to see are the dancing princes who move slowly with such deft movements that they arouse feelings of yearning, King Arjuna Sasrabahu and Patih Suwanda Prince Semantri,[4] who is really well-shaped

And dressed in an excellent costume. Performed is the ancient story when he fought a lively battle with King Arjuna Sasrabahu, after he had worked for him. Sent as messenger to Manggada, he helped him by fighting and killing the ruler of Widarba, named the excellent King Darmawisesa, who wished to have for his wife

Citrawati Kusumaningrat. But king Darmawasesa was coarse in the fight with Semantri and therefore died in the battle. So he [Semantri] really was an excellent envoy, determined, not failing, a champion minister, a leader in the ranks of war was the excellent Semantri, an accomplished speaker, [who was] friendly at gatherings.

Certainly his facial expressions, as well as his gaze were warm, and his excellent manners were captivating. He was known to have captivated modest, evil or beautiful [people] with his work. Therefore the Excellent Citradarma granted his wish, he presented [him] with his own sister Dewi Citrawati who was desired as queen

by His Royal Highness the king of Maespati. When she was taken by the excellent messenger Raden Semantri, all the kings wished to invite [him]. He was told to stop and stay for a while,

[4] Variant forms and spellings of names occur in the manuscripts.

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not to be in a hurry to leave, to lodge in all the [royal] guesthouses. Therefore Patih Suwanda worried and felt hesitant because it could well lead to a fight

with his Lord the king of Maespati, to prove his superiority in battle. If he really was the incarnation of Lord Vishnu, would he fail in asking a girl in marriage, if not by means of fighting? Such were the thoughts of Semantri who sent a message, writing reverentially that he took to heart to fight a duel. When this was understood by

the King of Maespati, he was dismayed. He no longer had faith in Semantri, he knew him to be young and beautiful, of refined and awe-inspiring appearance, showing excellent manners, an expert in carefulness, as suits a descendant of an ascetic, and his invincibility in battle showed [that he was] capable of commanding an army.

Thus the king of Maespati became very oppressed by his royal dignity to fight. He wished to give in to the wish of Semantri whom he allowed everything. Not being prepared to fail in battle, both were measuring their excellence. Indeed this is depicted [by] their Highnesses the dancing princes. Their dance is elegant, their movements are deft and graceful, really praiseworthy. (*Dhandhanggula,* verse 3-11)

In the fourth verse the theme of the dance is said to derive from an ancient story, without further specification. According to Zoetmulder's survey of Old Javanese literature, the character of King Arjuna Sasrabahu "occurs in the literature of the Hindu-Javanese period only in the accounts of his conflict with Dasamukha (Uttara-kāṇḍa and Arjunawijaya). It seems, however, that he was the subject of many other stories already at that time. For his appearance as the central figure of a number of works from the heyday of literary activity in Surakarta (18th and 19th centuries) [...] would be difficult to explain otherwise" (Zoetmulder 1974:402). In the same paragraph Zoetmulder mentions Sumantri as "the name of the person who, as Suwanda, becomes Arjuna's *patih*", and as the title of a Balinese work in *kakawin* form to which he does not attribute much literary value.

Although the story is said to be ancient, the battle-dance of Arjuna Sasrabahu and Sumantri is probably based on modern Javanese literary works, such as Sindusastra's version of the story of Arjuna Sasrabahu.[5] In a recent article on Javanese Rāmāyaṇa tales, Sears writes that: "Puppeteers and scholars associate the interpretations of the Arjunasasrabahu story that are enacted in the shadow play tradition with the *Serat Lokapala* of the court poet Sindusastra, a *macapat* poem written in 1829. This telling of the story differs from the earlier texts of the Yasadipuras, and Poerbatjaraka contends that Sindusastra's work is based on the *Serat Kandha* traditions rather than on the *kakawin* tellings of the story" (Sears 2004:285).

A summary of the *wayang* play on this theme given by Kats says that Sumantri is the son of a

[5] Sindusastra's poetic version of the story of Arjuna Sasrabahu was published in Javanese characters in 1932, with illustrations of the main characters in *wayang* style. This was followed by a Javanese prose version in Latin characters published in 1937 by Kartapradja.

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hermit, who is sent by his father to offer his services to king Arjuna Sasrabahu of Maespati. Arjuna Sasrabahu employs Sumantri and asks him to go to Magada to fetch Dewi Citrawati for him. The young man does so, but before he hands her over, he decides to test his lord and see whether he is indeed a powerful hero. He challenges him to battle, and loses. As compensation, Sumantri must bring the Sriwedari pleasure garden to the capital (Kats 1984:186-7).

In several *wayang* plays *bambang* Sumantri is the younger brother and *vizir* of Arjuna Sasrabahu (see Pigeaud's Literature of Java III, 1970:397). This may be the reason why the crown prince dances the role of Sumantri while his elder brother Kusumadiningrat is Arjuna Sasrabahu, as stated in *Megatruh* metre, verse 22.

The dance of Arjuna Sasrabahu and Sumantri in the Sri Mataya

The Sri Mataya consists of ten cantos in metrical verse, the dance of Arjuna Sasrabahu and Sumantri is described in five different metres. Starting with the description in *Megatruh* metre of the crown prince's costume, the Sri Mataya continues to tell how the two dancers make their entrance, accompanied by the *gamelan* orchestra playing the *Ayak-ayakan* piece. When they have reached their places in the dance hall, the composition (*gendhing*) *Ladrang Winangun* is played, to which the dancers start dancing elegantly with bow and arrows.

The theme, the challenge (*sumbaran*) and the subsequent battle are described in *Dhandhanggula* metre. As in a *wayang kulit* performance, the rising tension is expressed in a special mood-song, *ada-ada greget saut*, which is sung by a choir, but the text of this song is not mentioned. The *ada-ada greget saut* is followed by the challenge and the battle, accompanied by the musical piece *Slepegan*. First the opponents shoot arrows then push each other. When king Arjuna Sasrabahu is thrown off-balance by Sumantri, he gets angry and manifests his terrifying supernatural form (*triwikrama*), accompanied by *Sampak* music, and pistols are shot.

Sumantri surrenders, kneels down and speaks submissive verses in *Pocung metre,* accompanied by soft Ayak-ayakan music. Moved by this request, Arjuna Sasrabahu casts off his angry form and speaks merciful words, in the same metre. Then both sing a couplet in *sekar ageng*, the 'great verse' form *Candrawilasita*, accompanied by just one softly playing instrument, the *gender*. These two verses are inserted at the end of the canto, in *Pocung* metre. The singing of these *Candrawilasita* verses serves as an opening, *bawa*, for the next *gamelan* piece, *gendhing Ketawang Gunungsari*:

> [*Pocung*] Joining in harmoniously, the *nem* pitch of the *gender* is struck, accompanying in *barang* mode. It is played in a beautifully matching way, while Raden Semantri starts to sing *bawa*
>
> [*Pocung*] In 'great verse', the famous *Candrawilasita*, which serves for his address to king Maespati again. His words are as follows:
>
> "Oh, Revered Ruler, who really is the jewel of the realm
> You are the incarnation of the great Lord Kesawa

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May I be forgiven for offering resistance in battle
Because of the agreement I want to serve the king (you)."

This [stanza] continues in *Pocung* metre. King Arjuna Sasra answers speaking calm words, also in *Candrawilasita* verse:

"Younger brother Semantri, I also agree
I do not intend to change our agreement
But let it be by means of the Sri Wedari garden
Which you must help to bring over to the capital of Maespati." (*Pocung*, verse 28-30, and 2 *Candrawilasita* verses)

The final part of the dance is described in *Sinom* metre. The Sri Mataya says that another song (*ura-ura*) is sung by a soloist and a choir during the *Ketawang Gunungsari*, and that its theme derives from the story of the fall of Astina. The Sri Mataya mentions just one line from the song-text, sung by king Salya to comfort his wife before his departure to the battlefield.

When the two princes have returned to their original positions in the dance hall, they sit down and perform the gesture of worship as the piece ends. Accompanied by the *Ayak-ayakan* piece, the two princes step forward (*tayungan*) and leave the dance hall. According to this description, the structure of the performance is as follows:

Ayak-ayakan, pelog pathet barang – entrance of the dancers
Ladrang Winangun, pelog pathet barang – dancing elegantly with bow and arrows
Ada-ada greget saut – female singers, *keprak* sounds continuously
Slepegan – sumbaran in *Dhandhanggula* by Arjuna Sasrabahu and Sumantri – battle with bow and arrows first, then wrestling
Slepegan Sampak – pistol fight
Ayak-ayakan – submission by Sumantri and answer by Arjuna Sasrabahu – dance with fans back to starting place
Pathetan, pelog barang – bawa Candrawilasita by Sumantri and Arjuna Sasrabahu
Ketawang Gunungsari – last part of the dance
Ura-ura Kinanthi – solo singer and choir
Ayak-ayakan – exit of dancers

According to the description in the Sri Mataya, the dancers sing dialogues in three different metres: the *macapat* metres *Dhandhanggula, Pocung*, and the *sekar ageng* metre *Candrawilasita*. It states explicitly that the wireng dancers are singing these verses themselves. This was not always the case, as is indicated by the description of a similar dance in manuscripts kept in the library of the Mangkunegaran Palace in Surakarta.

Warrior's dances in manuscripts of the Mangkunagaran Palace

The Reksa Pustaka library of the Mangkunagaran Palace in Surakarta holds a number of dance

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manuscripts concerning dance activities in the palace during the last part of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth centuries (see Brakel-Papenhuyzen 1975). One of these, Reksa Pustaka number G 2 entitled *'Wireng iyasan dalem ringgit madya'* tells about the development of wireng dances and of the *wayang madya* — theatre with a repertoire based on indigenous Javanese stories. The first part of the manuscript deals with the wireng dances composed during the reign of Mangkunagara IV (r. 1853-1881). The second part discusses the development of *wayang wong* during the reign of Mangkunagara V (r. 1881-1896).

The section on wireng in the Mangkunagaran Palace begins with the statement that only three types of warriors-dances were practised in the palace before the construction of the large reception hall (*pendhapa*) during the reign of Kangjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Aria Mangkunagara IV. These were: 1. *lawung*, or lance dance 2. *dhadhap*, or elbow-shield dance, 3. dance with glasses. In 1866, when the large reception hall was completed, Mangkunagara IV invited dance masters from the other courts to his palace, to help create a larger repertoire of wireng dances:

> "At that time, the well-known R. M. A. Tandhakusuma was the teacher for refined (alus) dances, and the teacher for unrefined (*agal*) dancing was R. M. A. Suryadarmaja. In the year 1866, when the construction of the great *pendhapa* of the Mangkunagaran was finished, His Highness K. G. P. A. A. Mangkunagara IV sent for a dance master from the kraton of Surakarta named Kyai Angronakung, as well as a dance master from Yogyakarta and one from Madura. These dance masters were told to dance in turn, and the ruler selected from their dances what was suitable. Then he created *wireng* dances."

The manuscript then describes the wireng dances performed at the Mangkunagaran Palace, including the musical pieces that are played to accompany the battle-dances. Most battles are fought between well-known theatre characters. Sometimes the occasion for which the dance was performed is specified. For each dance the names of the instructors and the dancers are given, many of these being sons of the ruler — the first one mentioned is the successor to the throne, Kangjeng Pangeran Arya Prabu Prangwadana V. The second dance described is the battle between Wirun and Narantaka, and the fourth is the battle between Arjuna Sasrabahu and Sumantri.

1. The dance teacher R. M. A. Tandhakusuma, son in law of the ruler, was commissioned to instruct the dance (*beksa*). The students were Kangjeng Pangéran Arya Prabu Prangwadana V and Kangjeng Pangeran Arya Dayaningrat. When they were still young they learned the *wireng* [dance] Keratarupa, [that is] Prabu Keratarupa fighting Sang Arjuna. The *gamelan* [plays] in the *slendro* [tuning system] *pathet* 9. The [dancer's] entrance is to [the accompaniment of] *pathet(an)*, the main piece (*gendhing*) is *Gandasuli*, continued by *Ketawang Langengita*. [The dance] is taken from [bow and] arrow-dances. After the battle [the dancers] retreat to *pathet(an)*, their weapons are arrows.

2. The *wireng* [dance] Wirun: Raden Wirun fights with Raden Rangga Narantaka. [The dance] is taken from *dhadhap* (elbow-shield) dances. The *gamelan* [plays] in [the] *pelog* [tuning system] *pathet* 6. The *wireng*-dancers enter to [the accompaniment of] *pathet(an)*, then dance to *gendhing*

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Ladrang Kapang-kapang, continued by Ketawang Puspanjala. The weapons are *dhadhap* and *keris*. The dance was taught to Kangjeng Pangeran Arya Dayakusuma and Raden Mas Sunarya when they were still young. The dancers retreat to *pathet(an)*.

4. The *wireng* [dance] Harjunasasra, fighting with Bambang Sumantri. [The choreography] was taken from the [bow and] arrow battle-dance. The *gamelan* [plays] in the *slendro* tuning system, *pathet menyura*. The *wireng* [dancers] enter to *pathet(an)*, then *gendhing Kandha menyura* sounds. Both *wireng*-dancers then take hold of the *dhadhap* while they are walking forward. When they have reached their places on the right and the left [side of the dance area], the music changes to *Ketawang Tarupala*. Now they put the *dhadhap* down and change them for bow and arrows. When the *gamelan* stops [there is] *Ada-ada* and the challenge. Then the *gamelan* plays *Slepeg(an)* and they fight. After the fight, the *wireng*-dancers retreat to [the accompaniment of] *pathet(an)*.

In fact this manuscript describes how Javanese warrior's dances developed into theatrical battle-dances during the reign of Mangkunagara IV. The trend to develop theatrical performances is said to have continued under Mangkunagara V with the creation of *wayang wong*. That most of the battle-dances in the Mangkunagaran Palace were also practised at the kraton of Surakarta is not surprising, as the manuscript states that they were composed with the help of dance masters from the kraton of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. In the Mangkunagaran as in the Surakarta kraton, the refined, theatrical battle-dances were practised by the ruler's own sons, dancing with elegant movements and dressed in beautiful *wayang* costumes as suits noble characters. They were performed during court celebrations, such as royal birthdays or a wedding ceremony. The manuscript also says that less refined battle dances, not necessarily representing dramatic characters, were practised by court servants (*abdidalem*). These were also performed at court celebrations.

Song-texts and choreography of wireng Arjunasasra in manuscripts of the Mangkunagaran Palace

More information on the songs that are mentioned in the above description is to be found in manuscript F 15 of the Reksapustaka library, entitled *Serat Sendhon Langen Swara*, a collection of pleasant sounding songs. Its author is the famous R. M. A. Tandhakusuma, who according to manuscript G 2 was the main dance master during the reign of Mangkunagara IV. The *Serat Sendhon Langen Swara* contains the texts sung for nine wireng dances of the Mangkunagaran Palace, one of which is Wireng Arjunasasra.[6] It has the same musical structure as the dance described in manuscript G 2, the only difference is that *Ketawang Tarupala* is replaced by *Ketawang Puspawarna*.

[6] The *Serat Sendhon Langen Swara* contains the texts for the following wireng dances of the Mangkunagaran Palace: 1. Wireng Prabu Kelatarupa, 2. Wireng Wirun Tandhing, 3. Wireng Palgunadi, 4. Beksan Jayengsari, 5. Wireng Arjunasasra, 6. Beksan Bondabaya, 7. Beksan Andaga Tandhing, Bondayuda, 8. Beksan Karna Tandhing, 9. Beksan Panji tiron. The last item is a notation of patterns for the Klana dance.

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First, a *suluk* is sung announcing the entrance of the dancers, named *pathet(an)* in manuscript G 2, which indicates that it is accompanied by just a few softly playing musical instruments. The names of the dancers are first mentioned in the final line of the second text, a four-line verse in the 'great' metre *Mintajiwa*, sung as an introduction (*bawa*) to the following musical piece *Ladrang Kandha manyura*, which has no song-text. The theme is told in the third text, which consists of five verses of five lines in an unusual metre, sung during the following *Katawang Puspawarna*.[7] The fourth text is a mood-song named (*Ada-ada) Greget saut*, signalling the tension of the battle between the armies of Manggada and Maespati. According to manuscript G 2 this song is not accompanied by *gamelan* music. The challenge to battle (*sumbaran*) by the two warriors is a spoken dialogue:

A. Sumantri.
S. Here I am.
A. Do you really want to carry out what you requested?
S. Yes indeed, I am determined and willing to serve Your Majesty, only in order to pay homage to the future queen of Your Majesty.
A. So let's quickly mount the chariots, come on let us start the battle!

The final *suluk* in *slendro pathet manyura* that is sung to accompany the exit of the dancers tells about Sumantri's defeat and his task to bring the Sriwedari garden into the city.

The choreography of the battle between Arjuna Sasrabahu and Sumantri is described in Reksapustaka manuscript G 204 with a description of the movements, and G 130 with descriptions and drawings of the spatial patterns. As this notation follows the same musical structure as the song-texts in *Serat Sendhon Langen Swara*, they must have been written for the same version of the dance. The introduction of the notation states that the two dancers perform the same patterns in the refined dance style. The combination of information on choreography and song-texts gives the following musical structure for the Mangkunagaran battle-dance of Arjunasasra and Sumantri:

Suluk slendro pathet manyura – entrance of the dancers
bawa sekar Mintajiwa – followed by
Ladrang Kandha manyura – sitting on the floor, the dancers perform *sembah*, stand up face-to-face and move forward with the *dhadhap* first, then back to the sides
Katawang Tarupala (sendhon) – elegant dance with bow and arrows
Ada-ada greget saut – the dancers return to opposite sides
Sumbaran – Arjunasasra keeps standing, Sumantri kneels down
Slepegan- battle with bow and arrows, until Sumantri is defeated
Ayak-ayakan – back-to-back the dancers return to the sides, then kneel down and perform *sembah*
Suluk slendro pathet manyura – exit of the dancers

[7] The metre is not one of the well-known Central Javanese *macapat* metres.

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The battle-dance of Arjunasasra and Sumantri in the Yogyakarta kraton tradition

In his book on *wayang wong* performances at the court of Yogyakarta, Soedarsono says that theatre dances (*beksa wayang*) along with other battle-dances, such as lance dances (*beksa lawung*) and shield dances (*beksa tameng*) were practised in the kraton ever since the reign of Sultan Hamengku Buwana I (r.1755-92) (Soedarsono 1984:16). In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Yogyakarta Sultans developed *wayang wong* into large-scale, complex dramatic performances. According to Soedarsono, an important development that took place during the reign of Sultan Hamengku Buwana V was the introduction of written texts, called *Serat Kandha* (book of narration) and *Serat Pocapan* (book of dialogue), which were used during the performance. This meant that: "the narrator recited scene by scene from the text, practically reading it. Before the introduction of the written text the narrator, like the *dhalang*, the puppeteer of the shadow play, had to memorize everything. The dancers, however, still had to memorize the dialogues as written in the *Serat Pocapan*" (Soedarsono 1984:22).

The Krida Mardawa library of the kraton of Yogyakarta contains the manuscripts with texts used for dance, music and theatre performed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the Yogyakarta kraton. Among these are the scripts for large-scale *wayang wong* performances, scores for warrior's dances, as well as choreographies and song-texts of female court dances.[8] Usually, battle-dances are named after the characters performing the battle, sometimes preceded by the indication that it is a danced fragment from a play (*beksan pethilan).*

One of the manuscripts with information on the battle-dance of Arjunasasra and Sumantri is manuscript K 190 entitled "*Serat kandha beksan pethilan*" (Book with narrations for dances of [theatre] fragments). The first item, entitled "*Beksan prang tandhing Prabu Arjunasasra mengsah Raden Bambang Sumantri*", has the texts of the narration and song-texts (*kawin*) with brief indications for dance and music of the battle between king Arjunasasra and prince Sumantri (Lindsay, Soetanto and Feinstein 1994:65). Manuscript K 219 of the same collection contains the texts of the dialogues, narration and indications for musical accompaniment of battle dances, one of which is the battle between Prabu Arjunasasra and Raden Semantri (Lindsay, Soetanto and Feinstein 1994:72). These manuscripts prove that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries warrior's dances of the Yogyakarta kraton included narration (*kandha*), songs (*kawin*) and dialogues (*pocapan*) similar to the *wayang wong* dance drama.

In January 1990, I documented the battle between Arjunasasra and Sumantri performed as a *wayang wong* fragment, or *pethilan Sumantri-Harjunasasra*, in the Dalem Purbayan, a princely dwelling that was used as a government art centre. The dancers were members of the classical dance

[8] The Widya Budaya and Krida Mardawa libraries of the kraton of Yogyakarta contain manuscripts on performances at this court during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to the catalogue there is no textbook of the story of Arjuna Sasrabahu performed as a large-scale *wayang wong*.

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group Surya Kencana, founded by the late Pangeran Suryobrongto, who was a brother of Sultan Hamengku Buwana IX and a famous court dancer. The present leaders of the group are his son R. M. Ywandjono and R. Ay. Sri Kadaryati. The complex structure of this battle-dance, in which narration frequently alternates with songs, dance and dialogue, shows that it forms part of the *wayang wong* tradition of he Yogyakarta court.

The elaborate battle in this dance starts with a fight without weapons, followed by a fight with Javanese daggers (*dhuwung*), and as a climax the shooting of arrows. A special feature of this composition was an extra pair of dancers: these represented the angry transformations of the two refined dancers impersonating Arjunasasra and Sumantri. In the final part of the battle, the two tall dancers impersonated their angry transformations, moving with strong, energetic movements. The transformation is described in the following narrative passages (*kandha*) that are recited from a textbook (*serat kandha*) in alternation with the dance:

Kandha

Well then! King Arjunasasra is starting to aim his heirloom (*pusaka*) arrow. Now he is handling the *pusaka* arrow. Caak! In the left hand holding the bow, in the right hand the arrow, he steps with the right foot, then puts the left foot on the ground. The ivory bow squeaks, the arrow shoots like a flash of lightning and strikes Prince Sumantri's neck. Let us speak about prince Bambang Sumantri, when struck by the arrow of king Arjunasasra's arrow, he is tossed high into the sky.

- While the *gamelan* plays *Plajaran*, the arrow is shot and Sumantri is thrown off his feet. Silence.

Kandha

Well then! Hit by the arrow of King Arjunasasra, Prince Sumantri is tossed up and falls down far away, unconscious. Caressed by a cool breeze, he starts to remember, and with a shock he gets up. He is extremely angry. Then he stands on one leg with the arms crossed in front of the chest, closing off the nine openings [of the body] to block the five senses, staring at the tip of the nose, praying that he may immediately have a demonic [angry] form. It is told that his body grows larger and larger, until it is like a hill. So then he quickly returns to do battle.

- The *gamelan* changes to "*Gangsaran*", Sumantri changes into a strong (*gagah*) shape and fights with Arjunasasra. Arjunasasra is thrown off his feet. Silence.

Kandha

Well then! When King Arjunasasra receives a punch on the tip of his ear, he slips and falls down far [away]. He is extremely angry. Now he wants to pray that he may have a demonic form, he stands on one leg with the arms crossed in front of the chest, closing off the nine openings [of the body] to block the five senses, staring at the tip of the nose. As he stands there he starts to glow, his entire body is shining brightly. Then, suddenly, he becomes a gigantic demon (*brahala*), much larger than Prince Sumantri. And at that very moment he returns to [do] battle.

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- While the *gamelan* plays lively, the demonic form of Arjunasasra goes into battle. The strong form of Sumantri is lifted and returns to his usual form. The music ends.

Defeated, Sumantri kneels down and speaks humble words of submission (*pocapan*), politely asking to be forgiven. The following song (*lagon*), sung by the choir, tells that Arjunasasra leaves his angry *triwikrama* form. Then he speaks softly that Sumantri is forgiven as he is prepared to be his servant. This ends the dance, the two refined dancers return to the side of the *pendhapa* accompanied by choral singing.

Fig.1: Arjunasasra fighting Sumantri *gagah.*

Fig. 2: Sumantri defeated by Arjunasasra in his *triwikrama* form.

Conclusion

The three versions of the battle-dance of Arjuna Sasrabahu and Sumantri discussed above transmit an ancient literary tradition through theatrical performance. In each case, the danced battle contains elements of the Javanese theatre: costumes modelled on the dress of *wayang* puppets, specific musical pieces accompanying the fight as well as special mood-songs to introduce it. Yet, each version of the story is different: in the nineteenth century Surakarta kraton version, the dancers sing their dialogues in metrical verse, and Arjunasasrabahu assumes a supernatural *triwikrama* form to conquer his opponent. In the Mangkunagaran manuscripts the opponents address each other in

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spoken dialogues and no mention is made of a *triwikrama* form. The Yogyakarta court version has both opponents assume a *triwikrama* form, which is explained in the narration (*kandha*). Thus, each of these three versions offers a unique interpretation of the battle between Arjuna Sasrabahu and Sumantri.

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Preliminary notes on shared peculiarities of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in 9th-century Tibet and Java

Malini Saran

The proliferation of the Rāmāyaṇa in geographical regions north of the Himalayas to Tibet and China, and eastwards to Southeast Asia and Japan is a cultural phenomenon that continues to challenge our understanding and imagination. On every rare occasion that the past reveals some of its secrets, we are given the opportunity to explore dimensions of an ancient Indian story-telling tradition that prove to be neither religion specific nor country bound. Such opportunities presented themselves when a series of bas-reliefs were excavated and re-installed in the Loro Jonggrang temples of Central Java that depicted a Rāmāyaṇa story[1]; when an exemplary poetic work known as *kakawin* Rāmāyaṇa in the Old Javanese language was discovered in Bali[2]; and when six assorted Rāmāyaṇa manuscripts in Old Tibetan were recovered from a hidden library in the Dunhuang caves in China.[3]

Since these discoveries were made, scholars from various nationalities have given us major insights into these extraordinary representations of the Rāmāyaṇa. After decades of research and discussion experts now seem to agree that in Java both the Loro Jonggrang Rāmāyaṇa and the literary Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin originated in the Hindu-Buddhist ethos of the Central Javanese courts during the 9th-10th centuries CE. As for the Old Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa [henceforth OTR], J.W. De Jong has dated the Old Tibetan manuscripts to the period when Dunhuang was under Tibetan rule (787-848 CE) and after the Tibetan king had officially declared Buddhism to be the religion of the court in 762 CE. This makes all three works fall, broadly speaking, in the same age bracket.

Tibet and Java, where the discoveries were made, are almost at the extreme ends of what Lokesh Chandra in a personal conversation referred to as a cultural Commonwealth, where communities flourished linked by thriving international trade routes via land and sea, sharing a desire for the knowledge of Indian scriptures, Buddhist and Hindu, and the mastery of the Sanskrit language in which they were written. The Rāma narratives found in each of these regions are notable elements in this 'Sanskrit Cosmopolis' (Pollock 1996). Studies of these stories in Tibet and Java in the

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[1] First recognized as such by J. Groneman (1893), the more detailed identifications of the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs on the Śiva temple were made by art historian W.F. Stutterheim (1925 [1989]).

[2] The scholar Kern compiled the first edited text of the *kakawin* Rāmāyaṇa in the 19th century from Balinese *lontar* manuscripts. Soewito Santoso was the first translator into English of the complete text (see Saran and Khanna 2004:179, 89)

[3] In 1929 F.W.Thomas announced the discovery of the first three manuscripts of the Rāma story that were part of the contents of the secret library in Dunhuang found by explorer Aurel Stein in the beginning of the 20th century and donated to libraries in London and Paris. In 1936 two other manuscripts were discussed by Marcelle Lalou; and in 1963 J.K.Balbir translated, and edited the third.

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9th century reveal features which do not occur in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa (henceforth VR). What is remarkable is that several such features are common in the tellings of Tibet and Java despite the huge geographical distance separating them. Interestingly, some of these features resurface several centuries later in the Malay *Hikayat Sĕri Rāma* written shortly after the advent of Islam to the region (Zieseniss 1963), and in the *Sĕrat Kanda*, its Javanese adaptation (Stutterheim 1989).

Many scholars have commented on the similarities and differences with Vālmīki of the Central Javanese Rāmāyaṇas — one sculptural and the other literary — from the ninth century.[4] The OTR on the other hand, has received inadequate attention despite invaluable work done by a few scholars. They introduced us to its fragmentary and scattered manuscripts, but J.W.de Jong's path-breaking research has not received the attention it deserves. De Jong collated a version of the Rāmāyaṇa from six incomplete manuscripts found in Dunhuang. The OTR story is rendered in a combination of prose and verse, with direct speeches in the latter format.[5]

More recently, Matthew Kapstein situated the OTR and the subsequently written Rāmāyaṇas in the context of Tibetan literary history. Yet much remains unknown and unexplored.[6] This paper offers a few suggestions for further research.

That the Rāmāyaṇa was also known in Central Tibet is attested by the entry of the *Sītāharaṇaṃ* in the Sanskrit-Tibetan terminological dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti,* compiled in the beginning of the 9th century.[7] De Jong surmises that this was possibly the title of a work known to the compilers of the dictionary, although the story may not be the same as that recorded in the Dunhuang manuscripts. He also suggested that the Old Tibetan versions are likely to have been closely related to an Indian original since the prosody of its verses is more complicated than that found in contemporary manuscripts. Another reason cited is that Sanskrit names were either transcribed or translated into Tibetan. For instance, Daśaratha as *Da'śarite* — Tibetan for Ten-chariots; and Sītā as *Rol-rñed-ma* — Tibetan for furrow.

De Jong also observed that while the OTR was composed in a Buddhist milieu, it does not fit the mould of the Buddhist Jātakas, as does the Rāma story written in neighbouring Khotan in the same period. Nor, De Jong says, does the OTR show any Buddhist influence (1972:198).

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[4] The 33 Brahmā temple reliefs were excluded from Stutterheim's study as they had not all been collected and replaced on its balustrades. These have since been studied by Jan Fontein (1997) and Cecelia Levin (1999 and 2009). Important contributions to the study of the Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin were made by H.B. Sarkar, Manmohan Ghosh and C.Hooykaas, which have been discussed at length by Khanna and Saran (1993), and Saran and Khanna (2004).

[5] De Jong first summarized the OTR, in 1972, then discussed it in two publications (1983, 1993). His complete edition of the translated Old Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa appeared in 1989. De Jong labeled the six manuscripts from A-F, dividing them into two 'recensions'. Manuscripts A, C, D and F represent Recension I; E and B represent Recension II. Recension I has more episodes and is richer in details than Recension II, which is a more terse telling (De Jong 1983). In the quotations cited from De Jong's translation the chapter will be indicated by Roman numerals, the manuscript by Roman letters and the verses by Arabic numerals

[6] Both de Jong and Kapstein have written about the Rāmāyaṇas in Tibet that were composed from the 13th century until modern times.

[7] *Sitaharaṇaṃ*, Tib. Rol-rñed-phrogs-pa (no. 7629).

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The latter view has thus far remained unchallenged. However, my intuitive reading suggests that the text of the OTR, especially its sections in verse, is replete with Buddhist imagery and hidden meanings. A specialized knowledge of Tantric Buddhist texts in ninth-century Tibet could provide a more informed reading. This seems to offer a potentially rich and exciting vein of investigation.

The main story of the OTR relates to the characters of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā; the abduction of Sītā by a ten-headed demon, Daśagrīva, followed by a battle to recover her. This makes it indisputably a limb of the Indian Rāmāyaṇa body. So are the verses, interspersed in the prose of Old Tibetan, unmistakably Indian in style and sentiment. Yet the story differs markedly from the mainstream Sanskritic tradition of the Vālmīkian *kāvya.* While the OTR bears a notable resemblance to Vālmīkian renderings, several episodes are not found in Vālmīki's *ādikāvya.*

Among the non-Vālmīkian features in OTR, the narration of Sītā's birth and parentage is pivotal as it connects the story of Rāma with that of Daśagrīva. Enraged by Daśagrīva's insult to her, the goddess Umā curses him with destruction by a woman. Later, the gods decide to destroy the power of the indestructible Daśagrīva through his daughter, a goddess incarnated in the womb of his wife:

> "...after some time a daughter was born to mDa'śagriba. The knowers of signs examined her and as she possessed a mark indicating that she would destroy her father and the troop of demons, they put her in a closed copper [pot] and committing it to the waters, let her go. After some time, an Indian farmer while taking [water] from a channel came and found her. He gave her the name Rolrñedma." (X/E, verse 92-95)

This rendering, however, was not an invention of the Tibetans as the seeds of several elements in this story were already sown in the Vālmīki Uttarakāṇḍa. Sītā as the incarnation of goddess Lakṣmi, consort of Viṣṇu; or Vedavatī reborn as Sītā seeking revenge on Daśagrīva for his misdeeds is seen in VR. A fleeting mention is made of Sītā as a child born in Rāvaṇa's house and thrown into the sea only to reach land and emerge from a furrow, in a few manuscripts in the southern recension of VR (Brockington 2007:6). As it remained largely ignored and pending further investigation, it is premature to consider this as integral to the Vālmīkian narrative. The theme of Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter is well developed in the Jaina Rāmāyaṇas, in Sanghadāsa's *Vāsudevahiṇḍi* of the 5th century and in Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa of the 9th century (cf. Sahai 1972). It also becomes part of the 9th-century Khotanese Rāma story (Bailey 1939:462). Several centuries later echoes of this motif are heard in the 15th-century Malay *Hikayat Sĕri Rāma* and further elaborated, as also in the Javanese counterpart of the Hikayat, the *Sĕrat Kanda* (Stutterheim 1989:60). In a study of the birth and parentage of Sītā, Singaravelu (1982) recorded variants of this theme in ten Rāmāyaṇas of Southeast Asia. Within India, it is also evident in Chandravati's 16th-century Bengali telling and in the Kaśmīrī *Rāmāvatāracarita* written in the 18th century, not to mention in the oral traditions of Himachal Pradesh, and Telegu folk songs, although no dates for the latter exist.

This paper will take a closer look at three other episodes that are also outside the Vālmīkian framework and which the OTR shares with the ninth-century Rāmāyaṇas of Central Java as well as with the later *Hikayat* tradition.

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Sugrīva's tears:

In the OTR, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa come upon a black stream of water while searching for Sītā. Its source, they find out, is from the eyes, nose and mouth of a weeping monkey, Sugrīva, who is suffering from an injury inflicted on him by his elder brother.

In the relevant relief on the Śiva temple of Loro Jonggrang, Lakṣmaṇa goes to collect water for a thirsty Rāma the source of which is clearly shown as emerging from a weeping monkey, sitting on what could be a tamarind tree. The distressed creature with round eyes and bared fangs is clearly Sugrīva as the relief that follows portrays Rāma demonstrating his physical prowess to the monkey by shooting one arrow through seven palm trees.

Sugrīva's tears being collected by Lakṣmaṇa
(adapted from Groneman 1893, Plate XXVI c.16)

We find a somewhat similar episode in the Hikayat Sĕri Rama. A greatly fatigued Rāma rests with his head in Lakṣmana's lap and sleeps for four days and nights under a tamarind tree in which Sugrīva is sitting. Witnessing this selfless act of brotherly love, Sugrīva weeps and a tear falls on Rāma's chest, thus awaking him. He imagines that it comes from Lakṣmana who has been crying because he wishes to return home. Lakṣmana protests and prays to Dewata Mulya Raja to confirm his words at which point the tamarind tree sprouts forth pinnate flowers instead of the broad ones it had earlier and Sugrīva become visible, declaring the reason for his tears (Zieseniss 1963:53). The Javanese Sĕrat Kanda also briefly describes a tired Rāma lying asleep in Lakṣmana's lap awakened by the tears falling on his chest of a monkey hanging in a tree (Stutterheim 1989:61). Sahai points to the *Tīkā Rāmāyaṇa* by Maheśwaradāsa, written in the 17th century as the only instance in India which mentions Rāma's thirst in the context of his first encounter with Sugrīva, with saliva

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forming the liquid rather than tears. Sugrīva's tears are also mentioned in the Cambodian *Reamker* (Bizot 1983:267) and in the Lao Rāmāyaṇas with some variations (Sahai 1976:15).

The creation of Sītā's second son, Kuśa

In contrast to the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, in the OTR Sītā gives birth to one child only. The story of Lava and Kuśa in the OTR occurs before the exile of Sītā. Once, while Rāma is away, she goes for a walk and leaves her son with ṛṣis who are not aware that he has followed his mother. When the ṛṣis realize he is missing they create another son, made of *Kuśa* grass. Sītā returns with Lava and adopts Kuśa.

Bulcke believes this to be the oldest extant version of the creation of a twin by ṛṣi Vālmīki (Bulcke 1962:708). Within India references to the creation of Sītā's second child from a blade of ritual grass can be found in the *Kathāsaritasāgara* (IX Taranga 51) as well as in the *Rāma-kathās* that were written after the 15th century, *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa,* the Bengali Rāmāyaṇa of Candravatī (Levin 2009:12) and the Kaśmīrī *Rāmāvatāracarita* (Bulcke 1962:234). In Candi Brahmā the episode forms the subject of several reliefs. To begin with, Sītā is shown with only one child following her in the hermitage of Vālmīki but subsequent friezes show the two brothers.

In the Hikayat Sĕri Rāma, when Rāma doubts Sītā's virtue and rejects her, Sītā who is pregnant goes back with her retinue to her foster-father King Mahāṛṣi Kali and gives birth to one child, who becomes the king's constant companion. Once when the king is taking a ritual bath, the boy runs unnoticed after his mother and cannot be traced after the ritual has ended. Believing him to be drowned and not wishing to return without him, Mahāṛṣi Kali creates another boy in Lava's image from a bundle of grass. He goes in search of his daughter with him and discovers the boy whom he had thought was dead. Sītā adopts the son who has been brought to her and names him Kuśa, and from that moment the two boys are inseparable (Zieseniss 1963:9-98; Bulcke 1962:699; Saran and Khanna 2004:73). A similar story occurs in the Lao Rāmāyaṇas (Sahai 1976:30).

An exchange of letters

In the OTR Hanuman carries both a ring and a letter from Rāma to Sītā. In her reply letter she writes:

"Your body is like a lamp, beautifully adorned;
By the many ornaments of attractive qualities.
It shines without being shaken by the hail of sickness.
Know in your heart the meaning of this affectionate letter
And of the pleasant words spoken respectfully in reply to your question. (5)
Recognizing this ring made of a supple and soft root-shoot,
I was like an orphan who in the dream he dreams
Dreams that he meets his parents long passed away.
I could not master the power of my memory
And was carried away and seized. To love (10)

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My lord even very little, I have no power.
By the spell of your compassion I have not been abandoned even during a long period.
Among the many followers who depend on your might
One like me is not indispensable although not lowly.
The firm mountains encircling the ocean, a government of noblemen
I offer my thanks to you for kindly thinking of me in your heart (15)."
(XXXIII/A verse 272-286, E verse 253-267)

In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Hanumān as the envoy of Rāma carries only his signet ring and returns from Lanka carrying Sītā's crest jewel as a memento for Rāma. There is no letter. But, significantly, in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa kakawin,* while there is no letter from Rāma to Sītā there *is* a letter from her to Rāma along with her crest jewel. She describes her letter as a token of her longing and her crest jewel as herself coming to pay homage to him. To Sītā, the ring which her husband sends her seems like his embrace and its sight fills her with 'pangs of love and longing'. She asks Rāma to recall the time when they were young:

"And don't cease to be like you were in your youth,
When we were joined in marriage, our fathers, the two lords we serve, were overjoyed,
All those enjoyments that are fitting to receive should be no less pleasurable now,
For you are skilled in the arts of love, in all that is taught in the foremost treatises on the erotic arts."
(Canto 11.27)

"If it happens that you reach me my lord, what is it you expect to find
My state is pitiful here among the enemy, driven to distraction from not knowing what the outcome will be,
my only guest-offerings will be my longing and the distress in my heart
Along with the tears that I have stored up as a sign of my desire for you."
(11.30)

"What adds to my affliction is that this worthless slave was the cause of such torturous pain,
It was at my request that we separated and you did so out of affection for me,
If I meet with you again my lord, it will never be thus again,
I will take on the behaviour of a slave, holding fast to the vow of servitude."
(11.31)[8]

Apparently writing letters was a widely practiced art in Tibet to express strong emotions. In the OTR, there are two other instances of such written communications: when Rāma sends a threatening letter to Sugrīva to warn him not to go down the path that Bali had taken (XXVIII/E verse 207-218),

[8] Translation by Thomas Hunter, quoted in Saran and Khanna 2004:102-3.

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and when after his coronation as king, Hanumān neglects Rāma and being reminded of his duties in a message from Rāma, expresses his regret and shame in a letter (XLI/A verse 340-352).

The feelings that suffuse Sītā's letter show marked differences. Sītā in the *kakawin* openly expresses her yearning for her husband and its attendant pleasures of physical love in contrast to her expression of selfless devotion to her lord in the OTR. In both letters Sītā recalls the memory of their parents, which in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa is only spoken of by Sītā to Hanumān.[9] In the OTR Sītā regrets her actions expressing abject apologies and states her good intentions for the future. Her words invoke respect, duty, compassion and gratitude, in sharp contrast to her expressions of desire and earthly attachment in the *kakawin*.

Conclusion and some queries for further research

The early Rāmāyaṇas of Tibet, Khotan and Java have been dated to the 9th-10th centuries and if this dating stands unchallenged it means that these works are among the earliest known Rāmāyaṇas outside India, written or visualized in painting or sculpture.

The Javanese Rāmāyaṇa in all its variations became embedded in the local culture and took on added meanings specific to the ethos of the Hindu-Buddhist courts of Central Java, whether it was for entertainment, edification, education or redemption. That the Rāmāyaṇa was not just a story for entertainment in Java but also had redemptive qualities is clear from the *kakawin* where the poet of the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa ends his work with the following words:

> ".... may the story of Rāma which contains excellent words [of guidance] be like the fragrance that penetrates into the hearts of [of men]. The great yogins will become proficient in [in the Vedas], the good people will obtain a pure mind while reading it. If it is read to unfortunate people be he low or high in rank they will understand it beyond doubt, which will ultimately lead them to heavenly Bliss." (XXVI verses 49, 50)

As regards the sculptural representation in Loro Jonggrang, the fact of its location on the circumambulatory path of the main shrine of a state temple speaks for its high importance in both the temporal and spiritual realm. One plausible function it had, some argue, was to provide an ideological basis for an ideal monarchical polity which connected the Javanese rulers of that time with the solar dynasty of Rāma.[10]

The raison d'être of the OTR, by contrast, remains a mystery. The manuscripts found in Dunhuang give us an inkling of what was known of Rāmāyaṇa in ninth-century Tibet but we remain in the dark about its origins, how the story travelled there and what was its purpose in being carefully preserved by a regime that had adopted Buddhism several decades earlier. Was the Old Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa couched in an archaic language a remnant of what was more generally known earlier or did it serve a specific function at a particular period ?

[9] Sundarakāṇḍa Sarga 37, v. 2 (Goldman and Goldman 1996:220).

[10] Saran and Khanna 2004:80

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Bizot points to the transposition of the Rāmāyaṇa as philosophical allegory in the Sanskrit *Ādhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* in India and to the occult significance of *Reamker* in ancient Cambodia (Bizot 1983:270-1). In the *wayang kulit* theatre of Java, the cycle of Rāma is an illustration of the spiritual quest of the hero, representing an initiation into the way that leads to Enlightenment. Could the OTR have had a spiritual role to play in a similar quest? Sītā counters Rāma's argument that she could be ravished while he was chasing the deer with, 'how can one be deceived by a deer'? Added is a cryptic verse:

"On the top of the high and sacred summit of the divine mountain
A stem of precious crystals has arisen.
Protected by the power of the majesty of the powerful klu[11]
The raven does not make a nest high in the sky."
[Verse A-140-152]

That esoteric symbols are being used here seems likely, but what they specifically mean deserves further investigation. In his letter to Sītā, Rāma describes her enigmatically as 'beautiful as crystal' (Canto XXXI/E verse 229-240, line 9). Perhaps research into the esoteric Buddhism of that period might help to explain why an essentially Indian Rāma story was preserved in a secret library with Buddhist texts.

It is noteworthy that a Rāma story told in an archaic language of Tibet, in a period of history that we are still striving to understand today, should display some peculiarities which are common to more or less contemporaneous Rāmāyaṇa telling in the geographically distant region of Java. The shared variations from Vālmīki become an important clue to the nature of the Rāmāyaṇa tradition in its early oral and written forms as these travelled beyond India. In the broader tradition of the Rāmāyaṇa they capture a period when a treasury of Rāma stories was known in Java and in Tibet before these very stories were put into writing anywhere else. Whether this knowledge came from a written text, oral recitation or a dramatic performance remains a matter of debate among scholars in this field.

Further, in 1973, De Jong had already found certain commonalities that the Old Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa shared with the Malay Hikayat Sĕri Rāma of the 15th century. Much earlier Stutterheim had detected similar correspondences between the Loro Jonggrang Rāmāyaṇa and this Malay Hikayat. The extant manuscripts of the Hikayat apparently derive from an older version of the Rāma story which was the common source for all.[12] It is a remarkable historical fact that this cluster of Rāma stories captured by the 15th-century Malay Hikayat and the later vernacular Rāmāyaṇas in India were already in circulation in Tibet and Java during the 9th-10th centuries.

The Javanese Rāmāyaṇas of the tenth century are a combination of two different traditions, a literary and an oral, that were apparently flowing in tandem and the search for the sources of both

[11] The Tibetan *klu* corresponds to the Sanskrit *Nāga*, 'serpent', and in general indicates the powers of the earth and of the waters which play a significant role in Tibetan cosmology (Tucci 1988:222).

[12] Apart from the versions published by Roorda and Shellabear in 1915, there are at least five others of which brief accounts have been given by scholars (e.g. Singaravelu 1983:292).

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continues. We can speculate that they were directly transmitted from the Coromandel Coast of India through priests and traders coming via the sea route. They could also have followed the more circuitous land route from India to Kashmir, Tibet, Central Asia and thence to the countries of Southeast Asia, also in the hands of priests or on the tongues of pilgrims and traders.

The close correspondence between the Rāmāyaṇa kakawin and the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* establishes beyond doubt that a Vālmīkian Rāmāyaṇa in the orthodox Sanskrit tradition was known and enjoyed in Java already before the end of the first millennium. At the same time both the OTR and the Loro Jonggrang Rāmāyaṇa capture a set of stories circulating orally that had melded into the basic Vālmīkian framework. Sītā being the daughter of Daśagrīva, is part of equally old oral lore in circulation at that time, a seemingly parallel tradition which merged with equal facility into a textual tradition several centuries later.

The reflection of an oral tradition of stories is a notable feature of these Rāmāyaṇas written in regional languages and dated to the 9th-10th century when the increasing use of the vernacular in literature all over India and Asia was becoming evident. This process seems to have played a significant role in giving a written literary form to oral traditions. This oral tradition seems to have travelled early and freely across land and sea, possibly via the Buddhist circuit, as can be inferred from the similarity of particular episodes found in the Rāmāyaṇas of geographically distant regions such as Tibet and Java in the same period. That some of these stories reappear in a text several centuries later, in Southeast Asia, in a Malay Rāmāyaṇa, attest to the continuing popularity of the oral tradition and its adaptability to changing beliefs and practices.

This cluster of stories, different from Vālmīki, appears not only in Tibet, Java and what, is Malaysia today, but also in the Rāmāyaṇas of Khotan, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos. The genesis of some of these tales such as the birth of Sītā to Rāvaṇa has been plausibly traced to early Jaina texts, in other cases such as Sugrīva's tears; the quest continues.

Again, not all the divergences from Vālmīki observed in these texts are similar to each other. Some are common to the OTR and the *Rāmāyaṇa kakawin*, others to the sculptural rendition at Loro Jonggrang and the oral tradition preserved in the Hikayat Sĕri Rāma and the Sĕrat Kanda. Certain episodes exist that seem unique and confined to just one telling. Could the vehicle that brought them abroad have made the difference such as the various Sanskrit texts, or others in the vernacular or oral tellings that came with the performance arts?[13] Did what earlier scholars referred to as 'deviations' derive from the mainstream tradition or were they from a parallel stream of oral tellings that travelled as far as did the Sanskrit ones? Did the latter have similar uses to those in the mainstream Rāmāyaṇa tradition?

Another interesting question worth exploring is whether a literary text in Tibet can shed light on a sculpted motif in Java that has long puzzled scholars. The OTR describes Sītā as being abducted

[13] Commenting on the variations in *Rāmopakhyāna*, the section in the *Mahābhārata* dealing with the story of Rāma, Sanskrit scholar Raghavan (1973:17) wonders whether these differences could stem from the exigencies of abridgement, its character as a free imitation based on memory rather than a manuscript, also allowing for the play of fancy. Such possibilities could as easily apply to the Rāmāyaṇa of Tibet and Southeast Asia.

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together with the plot of ground under her. Now in the relevant bas-relief on the Śiva temple of Loro Jonggrang, the abductor and his victim are shown on a sort of platform which is held up by a flying demon. Could, what we take for a platform, actually represent the plot of earth on which Sītā was carried away? Interestingly, this motif is common to several Southeast Asian Rāmāyaṇas and is also found in Kamban's *Irāmāvatāracaritaṃ,* a Tamil text in the Vālmīkian tradition (Raghavan 1976:12).

The purpose of these preliminary observations is to highlight some possibilities for further research on the affinities between the Rāmāyaṇas of Tibet and Java, and to better understand the role of this story in the cultures that made it their own.

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Once again the statues from the Kombeng cave, East Kalimantan.

Endang Sri Hardiati

Introduction

The "Statue Cave" of Kombeng is one of the caves of Gunung Kombeng, a mountain in the regency of East Kutai, in the province of East Kalimantan. The existence of the cave became widely known in 1895 when a Lieutenant of the Dutch Navy, J.A. van Star, wrote a letter to the Board of Directors of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* informing them of the Buddha statues that were kept in the palace of the Sultan of Kutai. According to the Sultan, the statues originated from a cave complex consisting of several rooms that had been carved out from the limestone hill. Some of the rooms still contained a number of Buddha statues, a table, and other objects (*NBG* 1895:58). According to the Assistant-Resident of Kutai, it concerned Mount Kombeng, a day's trip away from the estuary of the Pantun River (*NBG* 1895:87-89). A year later the statues, which Van Star had seen in the palace of the Sultan of Kutai, in Tenggarong, were sent to Batavia and incorporated in the collection of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap Museum* (now the National Museum of Indonesia) with registration numbers of 103 f, g, and h (*NBG* 1896:6).

The first European who visited Mount Kombeng was a mining engineer, H. Witkamp, in November 1912. He made a plan of the "Statue Cave" in 1:500 scale and provided eleven sketches of the statues found in the cave in 1:30 scale (Witkamp 1914:587-610; Bosch 1927:392).

Witkamp explained that after passing through the front chamber, which was relatively well lit, he came to the dark rear chamber, where he found several statues lying scattered on the ground. Some of them were on wooden pedestals while some others were found buried. The sandstone statues were clearly brought there from another place (Witkamp 1914:597). From Witkamp's description we know that he entered the "Statue Cave" from the western entrance. According to Witkamp, the Dayak people did not know where the statues originated from; they thought the statues had been in the cave since times immemorial. Witkamp deemed it possible that there were still other caves with statues in Mount Kombeng, but that their existence was kept secret by the Dayak inhabitants. He speculated that the Kombeng statues either hailed from a ruined temple (*candi*) on the banks of the Pantun River or from Muara Kaman. They were probably brought there by a Hindu community around 1600s CE, during the period when Islam was introduced in the area (Witkamp 1914:598).

Another report on the Kombeng cave, after Witkamp, was made by the *Midden-Oost Borneo Expeditie* in 1925. The expedition was led by D.W. Buys. One of the expedition team members,

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F.H. Endert, who was a botanist, visited the Kombeng cave and photographed the Kombeng statues. The photographs were sent to the *Oudheidkundige Dienst (OD)* and on the basis of these pictures and the earlier sketches, F.D.K. Bosch wrote an article on the archaeology of Kutai (Bosch 1925:132-141).

According to Bosch the fourteen statues from Kombeng (including the three statues that were kept in the National Museum, Jakarta) could be categorized into two types, Śaiva and Buddhist statues. The Śaiva statues comprise Śiva Mahādeva, Agastya, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya, Mahākāla, Nandīśvara, Nandin, and a fragment of Brahmā. The other statues were Buddhist although it is not firmly established who they represent, except for Vajrapāṇi (Bosch 1925:134).

Bosch also suggested that the style of the Kombeng statues show Javanese influences, but it seems that the sculptors did not master all the details as the statues often display "uncommon" traits that are not found elsewhere (Bosch 1925:141).

Regarding the origin of the statues, Bosch agreed with Witkamp that the Kombeng statues came from another place, because of the large pegs which indicated that they were originally mounted on an altar or building (Bosch 1925:136).

After the research by the Dutch, some additional surveys were carried out in Kombeng area in 1970s. However, no intensive excavations were carried out there. In 1980s some of the statues were, for safety reasons, moved to the Museum of Tenggarong by the Office of Education and Culture of the Kutai Regency as more and more people visited the site in spite of the difficulties in getting there. The statues that were left in situ are the statues of Kārtikeya and Gaṇeśa, and the one that was believed by F.D.K. Bosch to be the statue of Amitābha Sambhogakāya.

In August 1995 the Archaeological Office of Banjarmasin conducted a research in the Kombeng cave. By then an overland route to Muara Wahau had been opened up from Samarinda. The number of transmigration settlements in the area had increased, and a palm oil plantation had been established near Mount Kombeng. The dirt road leading up to the Kombeng cave can be used by four-wheeled vehicles, except during rains. Because of the remote location, it is difficult to control the visitors and prevent possible damage.

In the 1995 survey it was discovered that the three statues left in the cave had been damaged due to human activities and had been broken into small pieces. What were left of the statues are the feet of Kārtikeya and Amitābha, and Gaṇeśa's trunk. These pieces were found in the western chamber. In the dark eastern chamber the rectangular stones, some with mouldings and curved sides, lay scattered on the ground. During the 2005 survey the team found the statues to be even more damaged and covered with moss. Today the Kombeng statues are rarely mentioned. In this paper I will offer an updated iconographic description of the statues.

An iconographic description of the Kombeng statues

As said above, the total number of statues found in the Kombeng cave amounted to fourteen, three of which were brought to Jakarta in 1896. Of the rest, eight were brought to Tenggarong and three left

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in the cave. Because of the severe damage recently inflicted on some of the statues, the iconographic analysis will be largely based on photographs taken in 1925.

Bosch had classified the Kombeng statues into two categories. His classification of the Buddhist statues was largely based on the shape of their headdresses, which resemble stūpas (Bosch 1925: 137). However, no other typically Buddhist characteristics can be detected on the statues, except for one statue kept in the National Museum in Jakarta. This statue had been identified as Vajrapāṇi by Krom and Bosch because of it holding a *vajra* (Bosch 1925:137). A statue in sitting posture, with hands in meditation gesture *dhyāna-mudrā*, Bosch thought it a depiction of Amitābha Sambhogakāya, although he had his doubts about this because of the rich adornments of this statue (Bosch 1925:139). In reviewing Bosch's analyses we need to scrutinize the statues thoroughly one by one.

Śiva

The statue of Śiva, the tallest among the Kombeng statues (150 cm high), is relatively unimpaired. Only the upper left back-rest is missing. It stands in cross-legged posture *samabhaṅga* on a lotus. There is an oval nimbus *śiraścakra* around its head and a crescent ornament *ardhacandra* behind its neck. The figure has four hands; the front right hand carries a short trident *triśūla* (only up to its hip), the back right hand carries a string of praying beads, the back left hand carries a yak tail fan *cāmara,* and the palm of its front left hand is facing downward, similar to boon or wish granting gesture *varadamudrā.*

Fig.1: Śiva (Nat. Mus. Coll.)

The Śiva figure adorns a tall crest *jaṭāmakuṭa*, and the diadem *jamang* is decorated with three *simbar*s (a triangular form of decoration) with floral motif, and curly hair is seen on each shoulder. The jewellery it wears consists of flower-shaped ear ornaments, a necklace with scroll-pattern decoration, an armlet *keyūra* decorated with flower and scroll designs, a plain bracelet, an anklet, a sacred cord or thread *upavīta* in the shape of a snake from its left shoulder to the chest and hip, and a *kucabandha* (a kind of band worn around the breast) with *simbar* and scroll motifs. The figure is clad in a plain ankle-length sarong, with two layers of belts at the upper part; the attire is slightly widened at the bottom. The figure also wears two layers of *sampur* (a kind of sash worn at the waist) knotted at each side of its hip; the tips of the *sampur*, that are positioned downward, are pleated and slightly widened.

Bosch, and also Ratnaesih (1993), referred to this statue as Śiva Mahādeva. According to Ratnaesih, all Śiva statues

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in standing position that are depicted alone, having two or four arms, with or without the third eye, should be called Śiva Mahādeva. In my opinion, however, a statue with no third eye, like the one from Kombeng should be referred to as only *Śiva* and not Mahādeva.

Agastya

This statue is now kept at the Mulawarman Museum in Tenggarong, Kutai Kartanegara Regency, with inventory number of 4358. Since its discovery, this statue has lost its head, and its back rest is broken. In the photograph taken in 1925, the back rest at each side of the body can still be seen. This statue is standing in *samabhaṅga* posture on a rounded-rectangular double layered lotus pedestal *padmāsana.* Under the *padmāsana* is some kind of a peg. At its chest is the beard, which is tied with a kind of a ring. At each shoulder is a curly lock of hair. Its right hand is holding a *rudrākṣamālā* (rosary made from a berry symbolic of the angry Śiva's third eye) and its left hand is holding a water-jar. Unlike regular water-jars, the one held by this Agastya from Kombeng is flat. This figure wears a plain, thin *sarong*, with a length just above the ankle. It also wears two layers of *sampur* with a knot at each side of the hip; its tips are pleated and positioned downward. It wears very little jewellery; an *upavīta* in the form of a thick rope with rectangular buckle and a belt decorated with *simbar* and scroll motif.

Fig. 2: Ganeśa, repro of photo 1925

Gaṇeśa

Unfortunately nothing remains of the Gaṇeśa statue that had been found broken to pieces. In 1995 there were still some pieces of its trunk left, but these have all disappeared now. The only information about the statue is recorded in the photograph of 1925.

Bosch considered this statue to be of lower artistic quality than the other Kombeng statues, for instance the fragment of a head with a beautiful high crown (Bosch 1925: 136). From an iconographic point of view, the Gaṇeśa of Kombeng has one special feature, namely that the trunk does not dangle to the right or the left side of the statue, but straight downward in the middle of Gaṇeśa's chest and abdomen. Moreover, its crest, a high *jaṭāmakuṭa* is decorated with only a crescent, without a skull.

The jewellery worn by this Gaṇeśa figure is simple; only *upavīta* (probably in the form of a snake), bracelets on both front hands, and possibly an anklet). Its right back hand holds something unidentifiable and its left back hand holds an elephant's hook *aṅkuśa.* The left front hand holds an

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unidentified object placed on the tip of its trunk. Usually the object is a bowl in the shape of a skull (*kapāla*), but the shape of this particular object is not very clear. Bosch named the object as *bakje*, the Dutch word for a small tray (Bosch 1925:136). The right front arm is broken off but it is assumed to be in boon or wish fulfilling gesture *varamudrā*.

The back rest of this statue is smaller at the top, and it has a rounded tip. Under the *padmāsana* is another pedestal, which probably functioned as a peg.

Nandīśwara

This statue is being kept at the National Museum in Jakarta with an inventory number of 103g. This statue is hardly damaged; only a small part of the pedestal is broken off. The back rest is rectangular in shape with a flat top, while the *āsana* is in the form of a plain pedestal.

The two-armed pot-bellied figure is standing in *dvibhaṅga* posture; the left knee is slightly bent forward. The right hand holds a *triśūla*, which extends to the shoulders, while the left hand is placed on top of the left lap. The figure wears a *jaṭāmakuṭa* and its *jamang* being decorated with three plain *simbar*s. The attire and jewellery are very simple. The statue wears a plain above-knee-length *sarong*, with *sampur* hung down from the stomach, surrounding the right leg going backwards. The jewellery consists of an *upavīta* in the form of a plain rope that runs from its left shoulder to the left leg; at the left knee it is held by its left hand then hung further down toward its right thigh; and there is also a *kucabandha* in the form of a plain rope.

Of special interest is the *triśūla*, which has not been depicted in this way elsewhere. The *triśūla,* although held slightly at the front, is actually attached to the back rest. This is also the case with the *triśūla* of Śiva. According to Bosch, this mode of sculpting is uncommon in Java (Bosch 1925:135). It is possible that this had something to do with the rather soft limestone used. Had the *triśūla* been depicted more in the front and not attached to the back rest, it would have been very fragile (and thus easily broken). The question is why was the *triśūla* not simply carved directly into the back-rest?

Mahākāla

This statue is the partner of Nandīśwara, forming a pair of guardians and is now in the Mulawarman Museum in Tenggarong, but without any inventory number. It is almost unimpaired; only a small part of the sole of its left foot is broken off. The statue stands in *dvibhaṅga* posture on a plain pedestal, the right leg being slightly bent forward. Under the pedestal there is a kind of peg. The back-rest is rectangular in shape with a flat top. This figure has two arms. The right arm is bent upward; its hand is placed on the right shoulder with palm facing up. The left hand holds a club — or leans against it — that stands on the pedestal. This figure does not display any demonic element; it shows a rather big smile, and wears a moustache. The curly hair hangs down at the back of the head. The jewellery and clothing are simple. The tip of the *jaṭāmakuṭa* is markedly protruded. The *jamang* is decorated with three plain *simbar*s. The ear ornaments are in the form of two big rings, probably depicting *patrakuṇḍala*. A plain rope is tied around the chest like a sash, and the *upavīta* is in the form of a rope

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that hangs from the left shoulder to the left thigh and then bends toward the back of its right thigh. The knee-length sarong is plain, and the *sampur* is hung on its right thigh.

Nandin

The Nandin statue in the 1925 photograph still has a head, but broken off and separated from the body. In the 1995 survey it was discovered that the head had disappeared. Overall the sculpture of this Nandin is rather simple. The worn-down statue is now being kept at the Mulawarman Museum in Tenggarong with inventory number of 4190.

Brahmā

Bosch mentions the loose head of a Brahmā statue (Bosch 1925:134), but he did not consider the possibility that one of the headless statues represents a Brahmā figure.

During the 1995 survey it was observed that the loose head had been put on top of another statue that Bosch had dubbed Jaṭāmakuṭa Lokeśwara (?) (Bosch 1925:139). Now the statue is the collection of the Mulawarman Museum with inventory number of 326.

This tentative combination has its merits because the attributes and *mudrā* (hand gesture) of the statue accord with the general characteristics of Brahmā, namely rosary, water-jar, and *varamudrā* (van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1976:46).

This figure is sitting cross-legged on a double layered *padmāsana*; underneath the *padmāsana* is a low peg. It has four heads and four arms. The right front hand is in *varamudrā* on its right knee, while the right back hand holds a string of rosary. Its left front hand is holding a water-jar that is attached to its left knee. The left back arm is broken but the *cāmara* on its left shoulder, which used to be held by the left back hand, can still be seen. The attire consists of an ankle-length cloth, which was folded under the calf. The *sampur* is hung on its thigh with a knot at the right side of the waist. It wears more jewellery than the other statues, comprising flower-shaped ear ornaments, two-layered necklace (one is wider than the other, decorated with tendril motifs), a bracelet decorated with *simbar* and a belt; both the *simbar* and belt are further decorated with tendril motifs. On the back is a long rope, probably to tie the necklace and also part of the sash that is worn around the chest and back. This figure also wears a pleated sash that hung from its left shoulder to the right hip. On the left shoulder is the knot of this sash, and the tip goes into its chest and back. Curly hair is seen on each of its shoulder.

Fragment of a statue (probably a statue of Viṣṇu)

The fragment of a statue is kept at the Mulawarman Museum with inventory number of 4188. It consists only of half a body (vertically) with two right arms (front and rear arms). In 1995 the other half of the body (without the head) was seen in the Kombeng Cave, but it was no longer there in 2005.

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In the 1925 photograph the statue is still intact, and it shows a figure sitting cross-legged on a double layered *padmāsana.* The sides of the back rest were not straight but curved, and its upper portion is rounded like a nimbus *śiraścakra.* The front right hand is in *varamudrā*, while the rear righthand is holding a *cāmara.* The front left hand is placed on the left knee and holds the handle of an *utpala* that stands upward along the left arm. On the left shoulder are two lotus flowers, one on top of the other. The upper left hand is holding a *cakra.* The statue shows quite a lot of jewellery; a high crown, flower-shaped ear ornaments, two necklaces at different levels, *upavīta* in the form of a rope, armlets (*keyura*) with *simbar* decoration, and a decorated bracelet.

Fig. 3: Viṣṇu, repro of photo 1925

According to Bosch, this statue displays Śaiva and Buddhist traits, because the rear arms have the characteristic of Harihara (Śiva-Viṣṇu) whereas the front arms have the characteristics of Mañjuśrī (but without *pustaka* on top of the lotus) (Bosch 1925:138).

In my opinion, the statue probably represents Viṣṇu or Harihara. In the case of Harihara, the right and left sides of the crown are usually depicted differently. Since this Kombeng statue wears a crown with identical sides, and given the fact that the *cāmara* and *varamudrā* are the characteristic attributes of Viṣṇu, I prefer to identify the statue as Viṣṇu.

Kārtikeya

This statue had not been moved to Tenggarong, but left in the cave. Since 1995 what was left of the statue was the lower half, now covered with moss. The presence of Kārtikeya among the Kombeng statues would not be unusual as he is the son of Śiva and therefore part of the pantheon of Śiva. The god has many other names, such as Skanda and Kumāra. In Southern India, he is known by the name of Subrahmaṇya. Kārtikeya is also known as the god of war (van Lohuizen de Leeuw 1976:276).

In the 1925 photograph, this figure can be seen sitting on the back of its vehicle, a crouching peacock. The left leg is crossed, while the right one is hanging down and placed on a small *padmāsana* behind the peacock's tail. The head of the peacock is as high as the figure's upper arm, and bends backward; the beak touches the figure's left arm. The upper part of the back rest, including the crown, is broken off. At the back of the figure's head is carved an *ardhacandra.*

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The statue has two hands; the right hand is held downward in *varamudrā*, while the left one is placed on the left calf. The jewellery consist of rosette-shaped ear ornament, necklace decorated with tendril motif, a sash with a rectangular buckle with flower-shaped decoration, armlet decorated with *simbar* with tendril motif, as well as plain bracelet and ankle bangle.

Indra

This statue is now being kept at the National Museum in Jakarta with inventory number of 103h. According to Krom, as quoted by Bosch, this statue represents Vajrapāṇi because of its distinctive attribute, which is *vajra*, a short spear with spearheads at both ends (Bosch 1925:137).

However, we know that *vajra* is also the attribute of the god Indra, one of the *lokapāla* (guardians of the cardinal points) in the Hindu pantheon. Besides, Vajrapāṇi is usually depicted in *abhayamudrā* and not in *varamudrā*, like the Kombeng statues. Furthermore, Vajrapāṇi is commonly depicted in a group of three, usually with Buddha and Padmapāṇi (Gupte 1972:114). Because no Padmapāṇi, Buddha or Amitāyus have been found at the site and the statue in question displays the *varamudrā*, I am convinced that this particular statue depicts Indra.

The figure sits on a rectangular double layered *padmāsana*, under which there is a kind of peg. The back rest is plain; the bottom part is rectangular and has moulding, while the upper part is narrowed and rounded, forming *śiraścakra*. It has two arms. The right arm is bent to the front with palm facing upward and is placed on the right knee in *varamudrā* position. The left hand is cupped downward on the sole of the right foot, and holding a long lotus stem that creeps upwards through the elbow into the *śiraścakra*. At the tip of the stem is a half-bloom lotus flower with a *vajra* above it.

This figure wears jewelleries consisting of a high *jaṭamukuṭa* crown; a ring-shaped hair-lock with simbar decoration; a *jamang* decorated with round flowers at the front and both sides; ear ornaments in the form of long string of flowers; necklace with tendril decoration; *upavīta* in the form of plain rope with a buckle decorated with tendril motif; armlets with *simbar* decorations and tendril motif; and plain bracelet and ankle bangles.

The attire is plain and simple. Only the fold of its *sampur* is seen on its left hip. On each shoulder is its curly hair. This figure is rather slim and tall, with arms that are not quite proportional to the body. Like Śiva, this figure is depicted smiling. This statue was broken off at the neck but has since been restored.

Statue of a goddess

This statue is now a collection of the Mulawarman Museum at Tenggarong with inventory number of 325. Traces of cement joining the head and body can be seen in the statue now. The right and left palms of its hands are missing.

This figure is depicted sitting cross-legged, probably on a single layered *padmāsana*, but this cannot be ascertained because the *padmāsana* has worn-out. The back rest has sides that are getting smaller upwards; on the top is an oval nimbus *śiraścakra*. On the left part of the back rest is a carving

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of vine that creeps upward from the hip to the shoulder. Curly hair is seen on both shoulders. This figure has two arms, no attributes, and the right hand is probably in *varamudrā* position.

The attire and jewelleries of this figure are quite ornate. The high *jaṭamakuṭa* with hair lock is in the form of a thick ring decorated with flowers and geometric motifs (a circle with flowers at its centre). The top of the crown resembles a flower bud. The ear ornaments are long strings of flowers and the necklace has flower and tendril motifs. The armlets (*keyūra*) are decorated with *simbar*s and tendril motifs. The figure wears a plain bracelet on the right hand, and also a sash decorated with a big *simbar* in the middle with flower and tendril motifs. The *sarong* is ankle-length, and there are pleats below the thighs. Unfortunately it is not clear whether the sarong was plain or decorated.

It is unclear which goddess is represented in this statue for want of attributes that can be used to determine her identity. Bosch was of the opinion that it concerned a Buddhist statue because of the form of the crown that is reminiscent of a stūpa (Bosch 1925:137), but I find this a weak argument.

Statue of a goddess

This statue, which is now being kept at the Mulawarman Museum at Tenggarong with inventory number 4109, is badly damaged. The head is missing and most of the back rest is broken off. The entire surface is rough, as if covered with rust. The figure is sitting cross-legged on a double layered *padmāsana*, and under the *padmāsana* is a peg. Curly hair is seen on both shoulders. The figure has two arms; the right hand is in *varamudrā*, while the left is in *dhyānamudrā*. Because of the rust-like layer of its surface, details of the carving are not clearly visible, but some of its jewelleries can still be identified. The figure wears a crossed sacred cord *cannavīra* in the form of plain ropes with a buckle decorated with tendril motif in the centre. The armlets are decorated with *simbar* with tendril motif. The bracelets are plain, but the attire is hardly recognizable. It is difficult to determine which figure this statue represents because of the lack of distinctive attributes.

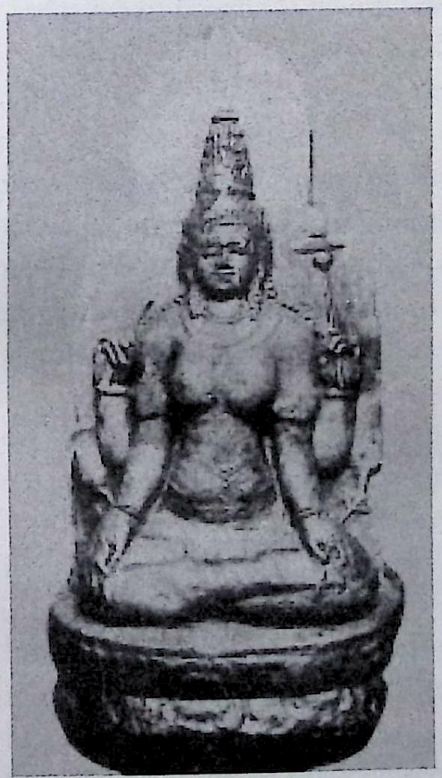

Fig. 4: Laksmi (?) (Mulawarman Museum coll.)

Statue of a goddess

This statue is now being kept at the Mulawarman Museum at Tenggarong. Although the statue looks rather intact, it actually has experienced many changes. The head and face, for instance, have been remodelled using cement. The description of this statue is made based on the 1925 photograph.

The figure sits on a round double layered *padmāsana*. The sides of the back rest are getting smaller upwards, and the top is in the form of an oval-shaped *śiraścakra* with a pointed top. The figure has four arms. Both front hands, which are

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placed on the knees, are holding the stem of a half-bloomed flower. The rear right hand is holding a rather long object, which Bosch believed to be a *pustaka*, but is not too clearly visible. The rear left hand is holding an object with a handle, which resembles a blooming flower but the depiction could also be a *cakra* or an umbrella, on top of which is a half-blooming flower. The high *jaṭāmakuṭa* is decorated with oval flower petals. The ear ornaments are shaped like long strings of flowers, and the necklace is probably two-layered but is rather worn out. The *upavīta* and armlets are worn out. There are plain bracelets on its four arms. Curly hair is seen on both shoulders; and the attire is not clearly seen.

It is still unclear which figure is represented in this statue, but going by the similarities with the Viṣṇu statue and the presence of lotus flowers on both front hands, she might be Lakṣmi.

Statue of a god

This statue, which Bosch believed to represent Amitābha Sambhogakāya, is damaged. Only the *padmāsana* and the crossed-leg parts are left of the statue, which are still in the Kombeng Cave. In the 1925 picture, this cross-legged figure sitting in *dhyānamudrā* looked graceful. This is the only statue among the Kombeng group, the back rest (under the *śiraścakra* of which is decorated with *makara*. The figure wears a high *jaṭāmakuṭa*; its top being covered by two layers of thick rings with a cylindrical-shaped decoration on its pinnacle.

Bosch took this statue for a Buddhist deity merely because the crown is shaped like a stūpa, but it is impossible to confirm this for want of specific attributes.

Concluding remarks

The "Statue Cave" of Mount Kombeng has quite large chambers and the floor is relatively flat. These conditions enable the cave to be used as a place for religious worship. Probably the cave was not a temporary storage place but it really functioned as a sacred site to perform rituals. It may have been related to the legend of the kingdom of Pantun that was located near the Pantun River. However, more evidence is needed to confirm the veracity of this legend, by conducting intensive excavations in this area.

Systematic excavations have never been carried out near the Statue Cave. Consequently, we cannot as yet date the site on the basis of laboratory test of soil samples. All we can do is estimate the relative age of this site on the basis of the art style of the Kombeng statues.

According to Bosch, the art style of the Kombeng statues shows Javanese influences. His opinion was based on the presence of the Śiva pantheon consisting of Śiva Mahādeva, Agastya, Gaṇeśa, Nandiśwara, and Mahākala, which — along with Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī — is commonly found in Java. This pantheon has the same positioning in a *candi* (temple). The figure of Śiva or liṅga-yoni are usually placed in the main chamber, Gaṇeśa towards the back of the west or east entrance. Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī is placed at the north and Agastya is usually placed at the south. Mahākāla and Nandīśwara usually occupy the niches at the right and left of the entrance.

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No statue of Durgā was found in Gunung Kombeng, It is not clear whether it was because there was originally no Durgā statue or because it was lost. I am of the opinion that there was originally no Durgā because Witkamp's sketches have the same amount of statues as the 1925 photographs.

The question to be asked then is: why was a Durgā statue not there? Based on archaeological investigations so far, it appears that Durgā statues are only found in Java. Outside Java, for instance in Sumatra, Durgā is very rarely encountered. This leads to another question, namely what other figure is replacing Durgā in the temple? We cannot as yet answer these questions.

Bosch's opinion that the Kombeng statues show Javanese stylistic influences rather than direct Indian ones may not be entirely true. We are inclined to see in the statues signs of local genius. For instance, the stūpa-shaped high crown (*jaṭāmukuṭa*) might be the product of the local genius of Kombeng, and not represent a characteristic feature of Buddhist statues. We may also consider the *varamudrā* hand position as typical of the Kombeng statues, although the *mudrā* is related to the iconographic principles.

Of the 14 statues found 11 depict Hindu gods, so it is very likely that the religious background of the people who commissioned the Kombeng statues was Hindu. Another argument is that there is very little evidence of Buddhism in Kalimantan. Except for a large inscription at Batu Pait in West Kalimantan, which contains Buddhist mantra (Quaritch Wales 1949:23; Bambang Budi Utomo 2008:43-44), there is no archaeological evidence for a Buddhist centre in the area. The find of bronze and gold Buddhist statues at Sambas (West Kalimantan) in 1949 and in Kotabangun and Tabang (East Kalimantan) in 1994 also do not prove that there was a Buddhist centre because it concerns small, portable statues that can be taken anywhere.

The Kombeng statues are thought to be a result of the development of Hinduism that was younger than the Mulawarman period but not as late as the East Java period. Probably they are contemporaneous with the Hindu-Buddhist culture that flourished in Central Java from about the 7th–9th centuries AD.

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Rāma, Ratu Kidul, and Buddha

Roy Jordaan

Introduction

Participating in an international workshop on the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, I presented a paper re-examining the sculptural representation of Rāma's crossing to Laṅkā in the closing relief of the narrative series on the Śiva temple of Prambanan (Jordaan 2009). One of my conclusions with respect to the causeway episode was that the Javanese sculptors had followed a different version of the Rāma story than Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa (VR). This finding is not surprising but in line with the conclusion of scholars who during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were involved in the excavation and preliminary description of the temple site, and who had detected similar deviations in other bas-reliefs (e.g. Groneman 1893; Brandes 1904; Vogel 1921). As for the explanation of the divergences from Vālmīki's 'classical' text, the general opinion among the early researchers was that because of the oral transmission, the story had been subject to various changes by way of embellishments, accidental or deliberate omissions and interpolations. Consequently, if it is true that the architect and the Javanese sculptors had followed a more or less 'corrupt' oral version of the Rāma story, this would inevitably have resulted in a different arrangement and/or rendering of some of the episodes than is found in VR and in the *Kakawin* Rāmāyaṇa (KR), also known as 'the' Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (OJR).

One of my other findings concerns the usefulness of the *Hikayat Sĕri Rāma* (HSR), a late-fourteenth to seventeenth century Malay text, for the interpretation of the sculptural narrative, particularly in cases where VR and the OJR fail us in this respect. This finding is also not new. First discovered by Stutterheim (1925), the heuristic value of the HSR for some deviant scenes has since been reconfirmed by other researchers, also with respect to the continuation of the Rāma story in the bas-reliefs on the Brahmā temple (e.g. Fontein 1979; Levin 1999; Saran and Khanna 2004).

What *is* surprising, though, is that previous researchers, Stutterheim included, had not resorted to the HSR for the interpretation of the causeway episode in spite of their awareness of the closing relief's visible incongruity with VR. The relief shows large fishes holding rocks in their open mouths, a piece of information not found in VR or in the OJR. Viewed in isolation, it is not absolutely clear how the actions of the large fishes and other sea creatures in this relief should be interpreted; their activity could be seen either as an attempt to thwart the construction of the causeway or to render assistance with respect to its completion. Although the divergence between the relief and VR did not, as said, escape the art historians' attention, they only seem to have consulted the HSR for the interpretation of the closing scene itself, not for the causeway episode as a whole. Their analysis of this episode is thus based on a blended reading of VR and the HSR, resulting in an oversight and misinterpretation of significant details. For instance, Vibhīṣaṇa's absence in the Prambanan

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causeway episode, which is contrary to VR and the OJR but in accordance with the HSR, is explained by Fontein with a reference to the sequence followed in present-day Malay *wayang* performances; but the latter practice, in my opinion, could equally well have been modelled on the HSR or its unknown non-Vālmīki source.[1]

Far more important is the misidentification of the figure confronting Rāma in the relief prior to the one depicting the crossing to Laṅkā. With reference to VR or OJR, the figure has been identified as either Sāgara or Varuṇa. It stands to reason, however, that if the HSR had been consulted, the figure would have been identified as the girl who rises from the sea and directs Rāma to a subterranean source of life-giving water in this particular text. Reliance on VR and the OJR for this particular relief has caused previous scholars to overlook the figure's female hair bun, whereas the absence of a nimbus might have alerted them of the possibility that the figure had not been accorded the same divine status as Sāgara or Varuṇa. Instead the girl may represent a lower class of divine beings.

Regrettably, the HSR does not divulge any useful information on the identity of the girl, but variant Rāma stories current in mainland Southeast Asia, such as among the Thai and the Lao, reveal that she has much in common with the Mermaid (named Suvarṇamatsya, "Golden Fish", in the *Ramakien*) or the *Nāgī*, the female serpent deity (named Massa, among the Lao), each of whom surrenders to Hanumān and then orders her minions to stop thwarting the construction of the causeway and to assist with its reconstruction and completion. Re-examination of the relevant bas-reliefs shows that the Prambanan causeway episode makes better sense from this wider comparative perspective (see Jordaan 2009).

Since the causeway relief of Prambanan has at times been compared with a similar relief of Prasat Hin Phimai, a tenth to twelfth-century Khmer temple complex in north-eastern Thailand (e.g. Boeles 1969; Gamonet and Népote 2002, Sophearith 2005), I decided to extend the art-historical scope of my research and use Phimai as a test for the validity of the revised interpretation. Personal inspection of the Phimai causeway relief not only revealed various flaws in current descriptions but also yielded significant indications in support of my alternative reading of the Prambanan evidence.

A major revision is the identification of a tiny figure on top of an upright serpent as a Nāgī, not a sage or hermit (*ṛṣi*) in a cave as has been assumed so far. (See the first photograph below.) Moreover, the current description of the figure's posture as "the palms of the hands joined" does not remind me of meditation but rather of a gesture of supplication, corresponding with the reverential folding of the hands (*sĕmbah*) of her counterpart at Prambanan. If correct, this would support my conclusion that the causeway reliefs of Prambanan and Phimai are based on narratives that had essential features in common, and evidently were once in wide circulation within Southeast Asia, at least from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. It is only later that I discovered that François Bizot had already reached a similar conclusion, albeit partly on the basis of flawed interpretations of the Phimai and Prambanan causeway reliefs in the current art-historical literature. Though he focused on the fishes and did not mention the Nāgī, his perceptive conclusion deserves to be quoted in full:

[1] The possible existence of such a source is indicated by the fact that the third example of the defection of Vibhīṣaṇa to Rāma's side after the construction of the causeway is found in the Lao text *Gvāy Dvóraḥbī* (see Sahai 1976:25).

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> "In this connection, one passage of Mi Chak's account [i.e. the Khmer Rāma story recited by a former Buddhist monk that was recorded on tape by Bizot] deserves attention, and that is the episode of the destruction and reconstruction by the fishes of the causeway which Rāma throws on the ocean in order to reach Lankā. This original scene, which could be believed to have emerged from a local development or the imagination of the narrator, was portrayed in the XIIth century on a lintel at Pimai [sic] (west fore-part, west face), where it most discreetly occupies just one corner of the picture. Now, this singular detail of the fish seizing in their mouths the stones laid by the monkeys does not exist in the classic epic, but it did appear in the IXth century on a relief of Candi Prambanan in central Java. The attack by the fish is found, however, in the Thai and Malaysian versions and in several Indian versions other than that of Vālmīki. The example thus shows perfectly the confusion of the facts: it implies the existence of a tradition of the epic that is very ancient in south-east Asia, common notably to Indonesia and Cambodia, going beyond the poem of Vālmīki and the setting of Angkor — but not the Indian sources — and of which at least part of the modern versions in the Khmer, Thai and Malaysian languages have retained a trace." (Bizot 1983:265)

We can fruitfully employ Bizot's ideas to address specific issues, such as whether the Javanese sculptors at Prambanan would have followed a more or less corrupt indigenous oral version, or a tradition that was based on a lost written text. Elsewhere (Jordaan 1996:90), I advanced two arguments in support of the idea of a lost text. First, the inherent constraints of temple architecture as a sacred endeavour leave little room for doctrinal and artistic latitude. Second, the neat arrangement of the Rāma story over the available wall space — which on the Śiva temple took account of the course of the sun, according to Stutterheim (1928) — could only have been accomplished by assuming that the priest-architect had used a scenario or a condensed text as a guide for the work of the sculptors. In support of this argument I referred to what the research of Fontein (1989) demonstrates about the design and execution of the Karmavibhaṅga reliefs of Borobudur, which provide us with an earlier Buddhist example of this text-based scenario.

Unexpectedly, my position met with rather negative comments in the reviews of some art historians who hold that an oral tradition must have been followed. Remarkably, they themselves fail to mention what they mean by 'text' and 'oral tradition', and explain how the neat and meaningful arrangement of the narrative Rāma reliefs over the inner balustrade walls of the Śiva and Brahmā temples could have been accomplished without any written textual guidance. Presumably they share Vogel's (1921) assumption that the Rāmāyaṇa was such a popular story that the oral tradition sufficed. Some of my critics even suggested that the selection of the scenes to be sculpted in stone could have been decided on the spot by the king and his advisers, in consultation with the architect-priest and a *dalang* (narrator and puppeteer of traditional shadow plays). Seen in this way, reference to oral tradition to explain certain deviations from Vālmīki can easily be used to mask the researcher's confusion and ignorance — in much the same way as misunderstandings on the side of the Javanese

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were resorted to in the past. It deserves noting that Stutterheim, who has been championed as "the first scholar to draw attention to the role of the oral enunciation of the Rāma legends in different parts of Asia", always took care to support his examples with references to the literature or ethnographic reports.

What, if anything, can we learn from the performance of Bizot's key informant about the transmission of the Rāmāyaṇa by oral tradition? Mi Chak, the narrator, had come to know the story of *Reamker* from a voluminous manuscript on palm leaves that was kept in the monastery, and which he had somehow managed to learn by heart. After he had left monastic life, Mi Chak was regularly called upon as a storyteller at private or village festivities. In 1969, he was invited by Bizot to relate his narrative, which took him no less than ten days, at the rate of about five hours a day. The version he narrated included the episode of Rāvaṇa's death which is generally regarded as inauspicious and therefore rarely represented in art or played on the stage. Mi Chak's rendition of this episode was held on a favourable date and accompanied by ceremonial precautions. All this information, in my opinion, argues against the possibility that an oral version was followed on Prambanan, which does not, as in Phimai, comprise a few separate Rāma bas-reliefs, but a continuous series of bas-reliefs uniting different episodes into an intelligible story in stone — Rāvaṇa's death included.

Though an amazing feat, we should not confuse one man's ability to memorize the whole Rāmāyaṇa in every detail with oral tradition, which presumes the passing down of the story by word of mouth — uninterrupted by war, famine, and other mishap — from one generation to the next, down the ages. It was perhaps for this problematic aspect that P.V. van Stein Callenfels (1922:47) wished "to leave open the question of whether in Java such an oral tradition may not have been committed to writing in some form or other, and whether it was this text which the sculptor had followed." Indeed, is it conceivable that Mi Chak could have taught another person to memorize the full story (in contrast to a synopsis) in another way than he had learnt it himself? If his imaginary pupil was instructed orally, that is, without access to a written text, his pupil would, in my view, have needed endless rehearsal sessions as well as access to painted scrolls or palm leaf books containing rudimentary drawings of the main episodes for visual support. Considering moreover that the pupils at Prambanan were semi-literate craftsmen, such drawings were probably also needed by the priest-architect for the instruction of the Javanese artisans and sculptors, and this scenario deserves the designation 'text' as much as the written version on which it was based. Why are art historians themselves so keen on consulting Vālmīki and checking iconographic textbooks for their research, but reluctant to admit the use of a manuscript version of the epic by the Hindu-Javanese architect at Prambanan? It should further be noted that for the architect and artisans this scriptural guidance was the more urgent as errors in temple design and execution of the bas-reliefs were believed to have serious repercussions for the well-being of the builder, the royal patron and his realm (Bosch 1924:16; Kramrisch 1976:39). Its greater popularity notwithstanding, the Rāma epic was as much a sacred text for the 'Hindus' as the *Lalitavistara* was for the Buddhists. For what other reason would the story have been depicted on the inner balustrade walls of the main temples?

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Rāma and Ratu Kidul

In the final part of the workshop paper I offered some suggestions for further research. One of these suggestions concerns the female serpent deity who figures in the causeway episode of Prambanan. The question that puzzled me is how such a prominent deity as Sāgara or Varuṇa could yield pride of place to one of his serpent queens. Are we to see this as an example of so called localization, by which is meant the adaptation of cultural elements to local, in this case Javanese, beliefs and practices? Supporting this possibility, I argued, is the fact that my search for Indian parallels and antecedents — to which Professor Chandra, the esteemed recipient of this *liber amicorum*, has also devoted some of his thoughts — has so far yielded but poorly documented examples. The figure most frequently mentioned in this connection is Maṇimègalai or (Maṇi)mekhala, the South Indian Sea Goddess, but rather little has been added to what was already known about her a hundred years ago (Coedès 1911; cf. Lévi 1931; Singaravelu 1969; Chandra 1995).

Is it possible, I queried, to see in the girl the archetype of Ratu Kidul, whom the Javanese still venerate as the Goddess of the Southern Ocean and who, as I have demonstrated elsewhere (Jordaan 1984), is a Serpent Queen? Java scholars will agree that Rāma's attempt to solicit the help of the God of the Sea strongly reminds of the stories about the activities of seventeenth-century Javanese noblemen aspiring to become king over Java, such as Panembahan Senapati. As did Rāma before him, Senapati meditates on the shore of the great Ocean to establish contact with the Ruler of the Sea. According to the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, Senapati's fervent prayers cause a great turmoil in nature that is comparable to the disastrous effects of Rāma's arrows (Olthof 1943:78-82). As with Varuṇa in the OJR, the unrest that transpires among the denizens of the sea prompts the Goddess of the Southern Ocean to emerge from the waters in order to determine the cause. Upon seeing Senapati in meditation on the beach the Serpent Queen implores him to stop. As with Varuṇa in the OJR, her submission to Senapati ends the upheaval and the dead fishes are restored to life. The goddess invites Senapati to follow her into her subterranean abode, and he stays with her for three days and nights. They are said to have made love continuously. The goddess also instructs him in the principles of statecraft and tells Senapati that his desire to become the supreme ruler of Java will be fulfilled. She promises to support his cause. The myth of the marital alliance between Senapati and the Queen of the Southern Ocean is still re-enacted and perpetuated by some of the present rulers of Central Java.

Considering the striking parallels between the respective meetings of Rāma and Senapati with the Goddess of the Sea, I do not want to exclude the possibility that the lost narrative followed at Prambanan had Rāma, not Hanumān, having an affair with the Nāgī. It is worth observing that in the Prambanan relief depicting their encounter Rāma is positioned much closer to the Nāgī than Hanumān, who seems to look rather shyly in her direction at a safe distance and from behind Sugrīva's back. Something similar is depicted at Phimai, where there is nothing to suggest that Hanumān has had a love affair with the Princess on top of the serpent. Here we see Hanumān hovering in the air over the heads of the stone-throwing monkeys, on his return flight from Laṅkā. The supplication gesture of the Serpent Princess is also clearly directed to the heavily damaged figure

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standing on the nearby causeway, whose identity can no longer be ascertained but could well have been Rāma.

Fig.1: The right-hand part of the causeway relief of Prasat Phimai. The upper register shows a group of monkeys carrying stones and being engaged in the construction of the causeway. In the middle, standing on the far end of the causeway under construction is a heavily damaged figure, whose identity can no longer be ascertained. Going by his stance, however, he may once have held a bow and arrow. If correct, he should be identified as Rāma threatening to dry up the Ocean. In the top right corner, barely visible, is a monkey flying over the heads of the group of monkeys, who can be identified as Hanumān on his return flight from Laṅkā. The lower register shows the turmoil among various marine creatures, including fishes, sea snakes, a crab, a tortoise, crocodiles, and two dragons-like creatures. In the shaded right-hand edge of the relief is found the Serpent Princess sitting on top of an upright standing serpent, both being enveloped by flames. (Photograph by the author.)

The art-historical evidence yielded by the Prambanan and Phimai causeway reliefs, the parallels between the Javanese legends about Senapati's love affair with the 'kingmaker' Ratu Kidul, and the Cambodian political myths about the marital union of Khmer kings with a female serpent deity, all call for the unravelling of this multi-faceted ancient ideational and ideological complex, yet poses a formidable challenge to researchers. There is, for instance, the problem explored by Przyluski (1925) of how to explain the fusion of the motifs of the Mermaid or Fish Princess and the Nāgī or Serpent Deity. This research has, to the best of my knowledge, never been replicated or critically reviewed. I am only aware of cursory remarks about the Chinese and Vietnamese inspired dragon motif that supposedly was first introduced into the Khmer art of the Angkor Wat period by way of Cham art (Boisselier 1966:320). Given that the Phimai causeway relief, apart from the Nāgī girl on top of the upright serpent, also shows some dragon-like creatures in the sea, the dating of the dragon motif to the Angkor Wat period seems in need of revision. It is tempting to speculate that the replacement of the Serpent Princess by the Mermaid occurred in the wake of the migrations of Thai-speaking peoples

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from southern China into mainland Southeast Asia. Traces of these "ancient interactions" can perhaps still be found through ethnological fieldwork in the isolated rural areas of mainland Southeast Asia. Here I am again reminded of the words of Paul Mus that "Working with ethnography, it will be possible to start from the biased and relatively late evidence of the texts and work backwards to the ethnological conditions, or at any rate to social and religious conditions strictly anterior to the literary compilations."

Researching the origins of the Nāgī complex is another challenge. Was the tradition carried from India to Southeast Asia or was the tradition carried from Java to other parts of insular and mainland Southeast Asia and thence even further, to southern India? Or was the tradition indigenous throughout 'monsoon Asia'? A related problem is separating the historical data from the mythical and quasi-historical information in the Javanese and Cambodian court chronicles regarding the Nāgī complex (e.g. Pelliot 1951; Porée-Maspero 1950; Gaudes 1993).

François Bizot, as we have seen, used the causeway example to support his opinion that the tradition is very ancient throughout Southeast Asia, "going beyond the poem of Vālmīki [...] but not the Indian sources".[2] If we agree with his reasoning, it would call for a resumption of the research into Indian non-Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa versions to see which text could have inspired the royal priests and architects of Southeast Asia. In a footnote, Bizot refers to Bulcke's (1962) magnum opus *Rāma-kathā*, listing the names of several potentially relevant texts such as *Setubandha* (7.8), *Jānakīharaṇa* (14.46), *Bāla Rāmāyaṇa* (8.52), *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa* (25), *Torave Rāmāyaṇa* (6.5). These and other non-Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa texts still deserve further philological investigation.[3] As was noted by H.B. Sarkar (1934:210) in connection with this research, "It is only through the consideration of differences that we can hope to be near the original source or sources." Curiously enough, it is precisely this kind of textual research that the same author would later deem less rewarding than researching the more or less accidental changes resulting from historical acculturation processes. Sarkar (1985:318) then writes that "the massive anomalies in the later versions of the

[2] Sachchidanand Sahai had reached a similar conclusion on the basis of Laotian stories of Sītā's birth, claiming that "the Lao versions of the Ramayana like the other South-East Asian versions can be shown to have drawn not only upon the Ramayana of Valmiki but also on the various post-Valmiki traditions in Prakrta and Pali" (Sahai 1972:78). In her book, aptly titled *Many Rāmāyaṇas*, Paula Richman cautions against according Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa the status of Ur-text and states that 'it is important to remember that Vālmīki's "version" is itself many versions' (Richman 1991:19 n. 18; cf. Smith [1988] 1995:12, 16-7). Much earlier, Stutterheim ([1925] 1989:87) proposed to leave open the possibility of the Javanese and Malay borrowing from even older Indian folk traditions. Hence my use of the designation non-Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa versions, which, I may add, is not inspired by deconstructionist fashion.

[3] V.Raghavan (1975) has dwelt briefly on this matter, but made contradictory assertions about the incident of the fishes swallowing stones in the Prākṛta poem *Setubandha* of Pravarasena and the play *Bālarāmāyaṇa* of Rājaśekhara. He first states that no such incident is described in the two Indian sources, but continues with the observation that 'in the course of the rhetorical description of the sea, both works have a fancy, one among several of the kind, that some rocks thrown into the waters disappeared into the mouths of a whale or whales' (1957:103). It is clear from the context that Raghavan held the Thai responsible for the presence of "further graphic details" in their version such as the affair of the female leader of the fishes with Hanumān.

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Rāmāyaṇa in Southeast Asia [...] cannot solely be explained only by the proposition of other versions of Rāmāyaṇa current in India and which have flowed into Southeast Asia in the trek of merchants and others", but that we should also take into account factors such as the loss of intimate contact of Southeast Asia with India in the late medieval period, the introduction of Islam and the Sinhalese form of Buddhism in insular and mainland Southeast Asia, the severance of the Indian literary and scriptural moorings, etc. In my opinion, the research sequence should be reversed; for a better understanding of the various changes the story underwent, we must first trace, or try to reconstruct, the text that most likely served as prototype, not only for the sculptors at Prambanan and Phimai, but also for the HSR.[4]

The meaning of the Phimai causeway relief

To argue that the Phimai and the Prambanan causeway bas-reliefs were based on the same or very similar non-Vālmīki Rāma stories from India, does not necessarily imply that the two bas-reliefs had the same meaning or that they served an identical purpose. At Prambanan the causeway is a functional part of a more or less complete narrative, serving not only to 'bridge' or connect the first part of the story on the Śiva temple with its sequel on the Brahmā temple, but also to fit in with the design of the central courtyard as a water basin. At Phimai, on the other hand, there are only a few separate Rāmāyaṇa bas-reliefs and the causeway relief is not a part of a continuing story. Although the possibility should not *a priori* be rejected, there is as yet, in contrast to Prambanan, no compelling reason to believe that the central courtyard of Phimai was designed as a water basin.[5] If the causeway scene cannot be connected with the other Rāmāyaṇa bas-reliefs or with design of the courtyard, what remains is for the bas-relief to have been accorded a meaning of its own and to have served an independent 'iconic' purpose. What could this meaning possibly have been?

The literature shows that the historical and the religious-political backgrounds of the Phimai temple site are still little understood. First surveyed by Seidenfaden (1923), the research could really

[4] Apart from the philological research into the Indian non-Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa texts listed by C. Bulcke, it seems warranted for comparative and dating purposes to look for Indian sculptural representations of the causeway episode in which the fishes and the *Nāgī* appear. So far my explorative art-historical research has yielded two early examples. The first is a relief from Paharpur showing Hanumān carrying a boulder over his head with a *Nāgī* at his feet (Dikshit 1930:147). The second example is depicted on a Hoysaḷa temple showing monkeys engaged in the construction of a causeway with an unidentified female figure, possibly a *Nāgī*, in the lower right corner of the relief (see Evans 1997:68, fig. 30).

[5] Still, it is worth noticing that Prasat Hin Phimai is located very close to the river Mun and one of its tributaries. On two sides of the temple site there is a moat, while there are a number of water basins within the temple grounds. The stone-paved central courtyard seems lower than some of the other parts, while the entrances to the *prāsāda* and *maṇḍapa* buildings are either raised or have stairs. Inside the *prāsāda* tower is a small water outlet (or inlet?) that is explicitly connected with *amṛta*, 'holy water', in the leaflet and information CD issued by the Fine Arts Department which are offered for sale at the ticket office of the temple site. Also relevant is Jessup's (2004:137) observation that "rainy season floods often turn the site [i.e. the larger area on which the temple complex was built] into an island, which would have had implications of the symbolic cosmic ocean surrounding Mount Meru."

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only profitably begin after the partial reconstruction of the main buildings at the temple site during the 1960's by the Fine Arts Department. As a matter of fact, the causeway bas-relief was one of the first parts to be analysed in art-historical detail just after the restoration of the main shrine had been completed (Boeles 1969). Subsequent research by Boeles and others (e.g. Dagens 1988; Woodward 2003; Jessup 2004) have helped to uncover the fact that Phimai cannot as yet be clearly dated and that the temple complex has a long and complicated history during which successive Khmer kings were involved in its construction and/or extension. The meanings that the researchers have tentatively attributed to the Rāmāyaṇa bas-reliefs reflect this complicated background.

For instance, whereas Jacques and Lafond (2007:205) claim that the pediments and lintels over the outer doorways, which portray well-known episodes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, are "proof beyond doubt that at the time they were carved Phimai was a Shivaite shrine", this viewpoint certainty is not shared by other researchers, especially those who find it conceivable that the Rāmāyaṇa bas-reliefs were an integral part of a Vajrayāna Buddhist design from the start. If such a design had indeed been followed at Phimai, it is argued, the 'Hindu' or Brahmanical deities were deliberately accorded a lower position on the outside and the periphery of the main temple (Dagens 1988:27; Boreth Ly 2002; Woodward 2003:149; Jessup 2004:137). Similar arrangements are found on contemporary Buddhist structures in Java, such as on Mendut and Borobudur; on Borobudur Śiva is among the Brahmanical deities depicted on the walls of the galleries that are leading up to the summit of the monument, which is crowned by a huge *stupa* (Voûte and Long 2004; Long, 2010).

Boreth J. Ly (2002) and Bizot (1983) are the only researchers, to my knowledge, to have explicitly raised the question of the causeway relief's meaning. Ly's answer I found rather unconvincing. In his still unpublished Ph.D. thesis, he claims that the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs and the Buddhist tantric images at Phimai served parallel, so-called apotropaic purposes, meaning to protect the Khmer land from foreign invasion (Ly 2002:43). The apotropaic role is inferred from the violent, fierce or ferocious character of the scenes. However, reliefs that do not seem to exhibit this feature are said to be "present to provide a cause and effect to this 'narratable' program at Phimai. [...] For example, in order to fight the battle of Lanka it was first necessary to construct the bridge to the island of Lanka" (Ly 2002:51). In my view, this rather simplistic functional interpretation of the causeway relief has more to do with protecting Ly's theoretical model than representing the intentions of the builders whose program he claims to know. Arguably, for the alleged 'narratable' program to be intelligible at all, one would expect to find a relief with Sītā's abduction as this event is the prime cause of the Laṅkā expedition. Why is this essential episode not depicted? And can't the causeway relief of Phimai have another more meaningful significance?

Pondering this problem before my personal visit to Thailand, in January 2009, I could only think of the causeway relief, which is located on the western side of the main building, as being symbolically connected with the notion of death and a safe crossing to the other world. First, the Old Mon and Khmer words for 'extinction' or 'disappearance' also serve as a term for referring to the western direction, in contrast to 'to be born' and 'appearance' for the eastern direction (Lewitz

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1970:133, 136). However, the greater inspiration for my proposal came from a simile that appears in the Preah Khan inscription:

> "Rāma and that King accomplished work for the gods and humans (respectively). Both were entirely devoted to their fathers; both conquered the descendent of Bhṛgu; but the first constructed a road of stones for the powerful monkeys to cross, while the second constructed [a road] of gold for humans to cross the Ocean of existences." (Coedès 1942:287; translation from the French by Siyonn Sophearith)

The inscription was issued by Jayavarman VII, who was not the founder of the Phimai complex but could have been involved in its extension (Filliozat 1993:lxvi). However, the simile itself undoubtedly was known to some of the famous monarch's predecessors, such as King Sūryavarman I, who shared many of the same convictions and ambitions. The inscription not only gives a nice ironical twist to the original purpose of causeway, but also exaggerates the role of the King. As pointed out by Siyonn Sophearith (2006:54), the inscription also intimates that King Jayavarman VII "surpassed Rāma, for he constructed a bridge made of gold. This bridge is allegorically used as the means to cross the *saṃsāra*. Jayavarman VII is, through the metaphor, presented as a bodhisattva, who saves all living beings from this existing world, the *saṃsāra*."

To demonstrate that this metaphor suits the causeway bas-relief of Phimai, I must briefly relate what happened during my afternoon visit to the temple. Above it was already noted that the causeway relief is found on the lintel of the doorway underneath the western pediment. If, in spite of the location of the relief and the favourable time for its inspection, the rays of the sun did not fully reach as far as the edge of the right-hand half of the relief in which I was particularly interested, what at first appeared to be bad luck turned out to be the exact opposite when I noticed that something else was illuminated, namely the central temple chamber housing the statue of Buddha Mucalinda (see Fig. 2a). The present statue of this 'Nāga-protected Buddha' is a replica, but the original "appears at Phimai and is the central Buddha in the art of the Jayavarman VII period" (Woodward 2003:139).

The illumination was all the more spectacular as shortly after the rays of the setting sun penetrated into the temple chamber through a number of successive doorways, starting from the gateways in the outer surrounding walls, straight through the doorways of the so-called library buildings and the outer chamber. (See Fig. 2b; the photograph was taken a few moments before the said event on 8 January 2009, around 18.00 o'clock local time).

Being an ignoramus in the field of astronomy, I contacted Mark Long, who is well known for his astronomical research in relation to Central Javanese Buddhist temples such as Borobudur and Mendut, to inform him of my experiences and inquire whether the event was a mere coincidence or not. In his reply Long referred to the happening as a solar event and said that the architects may well have planned one or more such events by designing the temple in accordance with certain astronomical principles. He also referred me to an internet site where Asger Mollerup, a Danish author, linguist and archaeo-astronomer, had a few years earlier made a similar discovery at Phanom

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Rung, another Khmer temple complex located in northeastern Thailand. Reportedly, the sun-sets and sun-rises pass straight through fifteen doorways during four yearly solar events, illuminating a stone liṅga in the central temple chamber.[6]

As I have no personal knowledge of Phanom Rung, which is a Śaiva temple complex, I will not speculate about the meaning or objective of its special alignment. As far as Phimai is concerned, however, I venture the suggestion that one of the purposes of the special alignment was to highlight the earlier mentioned allegorical meaning of the causeway and, simultaneously, to remind the visitor of Buddha as the Guide who leads one across the Sea of Existence.

Fig. 2a: The causeway lintel over the entrance to the central temple chamber of Prasat Phimai during the late afternoon.
(Photographs by the author.)

Fig. 2b: The statue of Mucalinda Buddha in the central temple chamber illuminated by the rays of the setting sun. A few moments later the sun would pass straight through the successive doorways visible in the background.

The lintel over the west interior doorway to the central temple chamber, which shows a standing Lord Buddha preaching to Māra, seems to support this interpretation (see Woodward 2003:151). My tentative interpretation of the Phimai causeway relief finds several parallels with a Tantric meaning for the causeway episode proposed by Bizot. He believes that there is a philosophical

[6] See Mollerup, Asger. "Solar-lunar events at Prasat Phanom Rung in Spring 2007 AD (2550 BE)," in Muang Boran Journal. http://www.muangboranjournal.com modules.php?name=Sections&op=viewarticle&artid=163

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teaching hidden under *Reamker* and that for the individual *yogāvacāra* (1) the island of Laṅkā on which Sītā is imprisoned can be equated with the maternal womb, and (2) the crossing of the ocean with the regression in the initiation and symbolic rebirth (Bizot 1983:272; cf. Crosby 2000). The same ideas can likewise be applied to my interpretation of the causeway relief of Phimai, if (1) the central temple chamber is deemed to stand for the 'womb' of the temple, and (2) the causeway relief indicates the direction in which Salvation is to be found, namely in the Buddhist doctrine (the teaching of which, as said, is depicted on the interior lintel) and in Buddha (enthroned in the central temple chamber).

Whether or not the statue of Buddha Mucalinda in the main temple chamber represents King Jayavarman VII or one of his predecessors, it seems very likely that the explanation for the temple's "most unusual orientation" (Jessup 2004:137) should be sought in certain astronomical and astrological considerations, and that solar events were meant to support the King's attempts to be likened to a *bodhisattva*. Irrespective of the identity of the King who commissioned the installation of the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs at Phimai, I hope to have made it plausible that the scene of the crossing to Laṅkā was used for Buddhist purposes and acquired a new philosophical meaning. If correct, it would demonstrate that the esoteric Buddhist reinterpretation of certain themes and elements from the Rāmāyaṇa may have more ancient roots than the eighteenth or nineteenth century suggested by Bizot on the basis of the textual material at his disposal. The following quote shows that Bizot was well aware of this: "Another question that must hold our attention without it being possible to dwell thereon for the time being is the identity, established in a number of versions, between Rām, Brahman hero, avatar of Vishnu, and Bodisattva, future Buddha. However, the hybrid character of the beliefs is too real in all Southeast Asia, too general, too institutionalised and based on a manuscript literature which is too abundant (but still barely studied), to be reduced, without an in-depth study of all the facts, to the result of some scattered indigenous actions. The existence of this supposed 'confusion' (between Rām/Vishnu and Rām/Bodhisattva-Buddha) — apt, in fact for a set of beliefs in which Buddhism and Brahmanism join — is common to all the Buddhist Indo-Chinese peninsula, and this should exclude the possibility of treating the religious aspect of the *Reamker* as a unique, independent and isolated phenomenon" (Bizot 1983:269-70). I concur with Bizot that to break the hidden codes of this esoteric tradition of the great Indian literary classics involves interdisciplinary and border-crossing research in the whole of Asia.

... and the photos in "Seminar on Astronomical Wonders at Prasat Phnom Rung, Buri Ram in North-East Thailand. " http://www.narit.or.th/en index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=29:astronomy-andworld-heritage&catid=35:local-activities&Itemid=55.

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Acknowledgement

The research for this paper benefited from the input by Hiram Woodward, Jr., Mark Long, and Jeffrey Sundberg, who should not, however, be held responsible for any of the author's unorthodox views. Hopefully this paper will stimulate further research both into the migration of Indian non-Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa versions to and within Southeast Asia, and the Tantric Buddhist re-interpretations of the Rāmāyaṇa by the Khmer and their Javanese contemporaries.

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List of contributors and congratulators

Andrea Acri currently holds a J. Gonda Postdoctoral Fellowship at the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS). From 2006 to 2010 he was affiliated as a Junior Researcher (PhD candidate) to the Institute for Area Studies of the Faculty of Humanities at Leiden University. He holds a Laurea degree in Sanskrit from the University of Rome 'la Sapienza' and a MA degree in Javanese Studies from Leiden University. His main research interests include the comparative study of Śaiva religion in India and Indonesia, Sanskrit and Old Javanese literature, and Indian philosophy.
email: andreaacri@mac.com

Michaela Appel received a PhD in Ethnology, Indology and Tibetan from the University of Munich. She did research on traditional ceremonies for the goddess Dewi Sri in West Java. Presently she is curator for Indonesia and Oceania at the State Museum of Ethnology in Munich, Germany.
email: michaela-appel@t-online.de

Ni Wayan Pasek Aryati is a PhD candidate at Charles Darwin University of Darwin, Australia. Her dissertation in history and women's studies titled *Transformations of an Indic Goddess: Durgā in India and Indonesia* has recently been approved by a board of examiners. Her published articles include 'Theodicy in Paradise', *South and Southeast Asia Culture and Religion Journal* 3:47-63.
email: csabali@indo.net.id

Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen studied Indonesian languages and cultures, linguistics, and anthropology at Leiden University, where she earned her PhD in 1988. Her present research is about oral and written literary traditions of North Sumatra that was initiated by her late husband Professor Lode F. Brakel. Her major publications include *The bedhaya court dances of Central Java* (Leiden: Brill, 1992) and *Classical Javanese dance* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995).
email: clara.brakel@gmail.com

Kate O'Brien earned her doctorate in 1995 with the University of Sydney through research into tantric Buddhist influences on Javanese kingship during the 13th and 14th centuries, and was subsequently awarded an Australian Research Council Fellowship to continue in that research. She is currently an Honorary Associate with the University of Sydney. She has authored a number of journal articles on related topics and in 2008 published *Sutasoma — The ancient tale of a Buddha-Prince*, an updated translation and analysis of the 14th century Old Javanese *kakawin* of the same name.
email: kate_obrien@internode.on.net

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Robert L. Brown is Professor of Art History at the University of California, Los Angeles and Curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. His major publications include *The Dvaravati Wheels of the Law and the Indianization of South East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1996 and Bombay: Marg, 1999 with introductory essay).
email: rbrown@lacma.org

Nandana Chutiwongs was a senior lecturer at the University of Amsterdam and retired as a Curator at the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, The Netherlands.

Jan Fontein is a retired Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.

Amrit Gomperts is a physicist and independent scholar who publishes on Old Javanese and Javano-Sanskrit texts and Javanese archaeology.
email: amritgo@planet.nl.

Roxanne Kamayani Gupta is a scholar of Indian culture and comparative religion. She holds a doctorate in Anthropology of Religion from Syracuse University.

Endang Sri Hardiati, a graduate of the University of Indonesia, Jakarta (PhD-S3, in 1993), at present holds the position of senior researcher at Puslit Arkenas (National Centre of Archaeology of Indonesia). Among the publications edited by her is the book *Indonesia: Discovery of the Past* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2006, together with Pieter Ter Keurs).
email: endangsh45@yahoo.com

Thomas M. Hunter is a Visiting Lecturer in Linguistics at the Faculty of Letters of Udayana University in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia, and Senior Faculty Advisor for the SIT Study Abroad Program 'Indonesia: Balinese Arts and Social Change'. Publications arising from his translation work include works on modern Indonesian literature (*The Weaverbirds*, 1991) and the ancient literature of Java and Bali (*Blossoms of Longing*, 1998).
email: tomary47@gmail.com

Roy Jordaan, a graduate of Leiden University, is an independent scholar whose main interest is in Indonesian 'classical' archaeology and art history, particularly during the reign of the Śailendra dynasty. His most recent publication, co-authored by Brian E. Colless, is *The Mahārājas of the Isles; The Śailendras and the problem of Śrīvijaya* (Leiden: Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, University of Leiden, 2009).
email: rejordaan@hotmail.com

Funding by IKS-MoE

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Subhash Kak is professor and head of the Computer Science Department at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater. Born in Srinagar, Kashmir, he completed his PhD in Electrical Engineering from the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, and then joined it as a professor. During 1979-2007, he was with Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, where he served most recently as Donald C. and Elaine T. Delaune Distinguished Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering.
email: subhashk@cs.okstate.edu

Cecelia Levin is an art historian specializing in the Art and Archaeology of South and Southeast Asia; she obtained her doctorate in this subject area from the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. She is currently an Associate in the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies at Harvard University, and an Adjunct Professor at New York University.
email: cecelialevin@me.com

Sushama Lohia, the younger sister of Prof. Chandra who edited the *Samantabhadra-caryā-praṇidhāna-rāja* in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and three Chinese versions, with a Sanskrit-Tibetan Index.

Mark Long is the co-author of *Borobudur: Pyramid of the Cosmic Buddha* with the late Dr. Caesar Voûte, UNESCO's on-site manager during the Borobudur Restoration Project; the author of a recently published monograph entitled *Caṇḍi Mendut: Womb of the Tathagata*; and the principal compiler of the numerous resource materials posted at the Internet website http://www.borobudur.tv
email: Longmarkearl@aol.com

ManjuShree wrote papers on 'The strategic role of Saraswatī in the Suvaraṇbhāsa' for the Symposium on Central Asian Manuscripts held at the National Library of China, Beijing, in collaboration with the British Museum Library (2006); 'The hidden base of Borobudur and Abhisaṁbodhivairocana' for the seminar on 'Uncovering the Meaning of the Hidden Base Borobudur', at Magelang (2008), and on 'The Dhāraṇī Chapter of the Lotus Sūtra' presented at the Institute of Oriental Philosophy, Soka University, Japan (2008).

Willem van der Molen is a senior collection specialist at the library of KITLV/Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Carribean Studies in Leiden and adjunct professor of Old Javanese and philology at Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta. One of his publications is the *Katalog naskah Merapi-Merbabu* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2002, together with Kartika Setyawati and I. Kuntara Wiryamartana).
email: molen@kitlv.nl

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Stuart Robson (D.Lit. Leiden University, 1971) is at present Adjunct Associate Professor of Indonesian in the School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics, Monash University. His particular interests are Javanese and Old Javanese language and literature.
email: stuart.robson@arts.monash.edu.au

K. Sankarnarayan at present the Director, K.J. Somaiya Centre for Buddhist Studies, Mumbai, India.

Malini Saran, an independent researcher, has an MA degree in Art History, Museology and Conservation from the National Museum Institute, New Delhi (1993). She has co-authored *The Ramayana in Indonesia* (New Delhi: Ravi Dayal Publisher, 2004).Her latest article on the subject is 'A system of knowledge transmission: The narrative in Indonesia (700-900 A.D.)', which appeared in Himanshu Prabha Ray (ed.), *Sacred landscapes in Asia: Shared traditions, multiple histories* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2007). She is currently working on the Tibetan Ramayana. She and Vinod C. Khanna are undertaking the translation from Hindi into English of Camille Bulcke's seminal dissertation in Hindi, *Rama-katha*.
email: malinisaran@gmail.com

Shashibala wrote her doctoral thesis entitled *Comparative iconography of the Vajradhātu-Maṇḍala and the Tattva-saṅgraha* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1989).

S. Supomo is at present a Visiting Fellow in the Faculty of Asian Studies, School of Culture, History and Language, Australian National University (Canberra, ACT 0200, Australia). He obtained his MA at Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, and his PhD at the Australian National University. His main field of interest is Old Javanese language and literature, and among his most important publications are *Arjunawijaya; A kakawin of mpu Tantular* (The Hague: 1977 [KITLV, Bibliotheca Indonesica 14] and *Bharatayuddha; An Old Javanese poem and its Indian sources* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1993).
email: Suryo.Supomo@anu.edu.au

Jeffrey Sundberg is an amateur Javanologist who has published original research on a Buddhist mantra found on the Ratu Boko plateau, the Abhayagirivihāra found on that plateau, and the dating of the stūpa at Barabudur. An electrical engineer, he was educated at the universities of Illinois, Southern California, and Arizona. At present, he is a candidate for two degrees, one in Geological and Geophysical Engineering and the other in Optical Science, which are related to his archaeological and epigraphical interests.
email: sundberg@email.arizona.edu

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A. Teeuw, emeritus professor of Indonesian Languages at Leiden University, and Professor Lokesh Chandra, to whose jubilee the present book is dedicated, once were fellow students of Professor Jan Gonda at Utrecht University. Even beyond the field of specialists, A. Teeuw is well-known for his Indonesian-Dutch dictionary (1990 and later issues). He is now engaged in a new translation into Dutch of the *Bhomāntaka,* one of his favourite Old Javanese texts.

Donald E. Weatherbee is the Russell Distinguished Professor Emeritus at the University of South Carolina. Ph.D Johns Hopkins University. The works to his credit are 'The Hyang Haji of the Gandasuli II Inscription, circa 832 AD', in Prof. Lokesh Chandra, editor, *Society and Culture in Southeast Asia* as well as the editing and translation of R. Soekmono, *The Javanese caṇḍi: function and meaning* (Leiden/New York: Brill, 1995).
email: donald.e.weatherbee@verizon.net

Hiram Woodward is Curator Emeritus of Asian Art at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland. He is the author of *The sacred sculpture of Thailand* (Baltimore: The Gallery, 1997) and *The art and architecture of Thailand: From prehistoric times through the thirteenth century* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003).
email: Hiramwoodward@gmail.com

Peter Worsley is Emeritus Professor attached to the School of Languages and Cultures at the University of Sydney. Since 2000 he has been working with Dr Supomo on a study of the Old Javanese *kakawin* Sumanasāntaka, now nearing completion. His most recent publication is a study of the Ramayana reliefs at Candi Prambanan: 'Budaya Bahasa Kosmopolit dan Gambar-gambar Kisah Rama di Candi Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan', in H. Chambert-Loir (ed.), *Sadur: Sejarah terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2009).
email: peter.worsley@sydney.edu.au

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A list of works / publications
by Prof. Lokesh Chandra

(ŚATA-PIṬAKA SERIES: FOUNDED BY PROF. RAGHUVIRA
AND CONTINUED BY PROF. LOKESH CHANDRA)*

1950

1. *Gavāmayana of the Jaiminīyas,* being Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa II.1-80 containing the year-long sacrifice Gavāmayana, critically edited with a long introduction and copious notes.

1953

2. *Khanij Abhijñān,* a handbook in Hindi on the identification of common minerals of India by their lustre, streak, hardness and specific gravity, with an elaborate introduction explaining the principles of the formation of Indian scientific names of minerals; in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira, Prof. N.L. Sharma and Dr. S.D. Limaye.
3. *A Dictionary of Indian Mammals,* giving the Indian names of all the suprageneric, generic, specific, and sub-specific names of the mammals of India; in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira and K.N. Dave.
4. *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra,* English translation by the late Prof. W. Caland, edited by Lokesh Chandra with a detailed introduction. The first English translation of a Vedic śrauta text.

1954

5. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa,* complete text reconstituted for the first time, in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira. This Brāhmaṇa had already attracted great attention towards the end of the last century. Professors Örtel and Caland had even published extensive extracts, but it was not found possible to edit the text as a whole. With the discovery of new manuscripts after a long and arduous search in Jaiminīya families, it has been possible to bring out a complete text. In importance it rivals the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

1955

6. *Comprehensive English-Hindi Dictionary,* in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira.

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*An institution in himself, Prof. RaghuVira established the Saraswati Vihar, better known as the International Academy of Indian Culture. The Academy was Prof. RaghuVira's personal study centre on Indian culture, literature and religion with his studies ranging as far as Mongolia, Indonesia, China, Russia, and Central Asia. Originally established at Ichhra near Lahore in 1932, the Academy was moved to Nagpur in 1946, judiciously a year before Partition. Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, the first Chief Minister of Central Province, provided Prof. RaghuVira with all the facilities for the rehabilitation of his research centre. By 1956 the Academy was permanently established in New Delhi.

These transfers of the International Academy of Indian Culture resulted in its works being published first in Lahore, then Nagpur, and finally New Delhi. From 1988 onwards, IAIC collaborated with the publishing house Aditya Prakashan for the publication of its works, with a few exceptions. This explains the shorthand references to the publications in the later part of the list.

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1959

7. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Part 1. For it, the author has drawn upon the vast canonical literature of Tibet and an unsurpassed abundance of material has been collected. Every entry is followed by exact references to texts. Terms of specialized subjects like astronomy, medicine, iconography, metrics, prosody, philosophy have also been included. It is the first comprehensive lexicographical reference-work for the understanding of Tibetan literature and culture whose sway extended into the remotest inhabitations of Higher Asia. It is unique in including more than a thousand illustrations from original xylographed iconographic manuals. It will be completed in 24 parts.
8. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Part 2 (kha).
9. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Part 3 (ga).
10. *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* of Sumpa mkhan-po Ye-śes-dpal-ḥbyor, containing a history of Buddhism in China and Mongolia, preceded by the chronological tables or *reḥu mig*, a "fundamental basis for Tibetan chronology" (G. Tucci).
11. *Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston*, Part 1, the chronicle of Buddhism by Dpaḥ-bo-gtsug-lag, an incarnate Lama of the Karma-pa sect. The unique value of the work may best be illustrated by reference to the rgyal-rabs, vol. ja. It contains a verbatim quotation of the 9th century inscription on the rdo-riṅ at Bsam-yas, the only such example seen in any Tibetan historical work. It draws extensively on the old records of the most ancient of Tibetan monasteries and sometimes quotes from them word-by-word.

12, 13. *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (facsimile edition)*, Parts 1, in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira. It will give a reliable base for the critical study of Buddhist literature.

14. *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po*, Parts 1, 2. Beside being a chronicle of the leading Tibetan monasteries, it is an inexhaustible mine of information about the religion, culture, history and geography of Tibet.
15. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Part 4 (*ṅa*, *ca*, *cha*).
16. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Part 5 (*ja*, *ña*, *ta*).
17. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Part 6 (*tha*, *da*).
18. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Part 7 (*na*, *pa*).
19. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Part 8 (*pha*, *ba*).
20. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Part 9 (*ma*, *tsa*, *tsha*).
21. *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (facsimile edition)*, Parts 2, in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira.
22. Vaidūrya-ser-po Part 1, 2. Besides being a chronicle of the leading Tibetan monasteries, it is an inexhaustible mine of information about the religion, culture, history and geography of Tibet.

1960

23. *Bhoṭ Śikṣak* (in Hindi): a grammar of modern Tibetan (pages 1-121), with conversation (pp.122-238) and selections of modern prose (pp.239-346).

1961

24. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Parts 10 (*dza*, *wa*, *zha*, *za*, *ḥa*, *Ya*).
25. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Parts 11 (*ra*, *la*, *śa*).
26. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Parts 12 (*sa*, *ha*).
27. *Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston*, Part 3. It completes the chapter on Karmapas, and chronicles the Ḥbri-khuṅ bkaḥ-rgyud and other sects. The chapters on Khotan, China, Mi-ñag and Mongolia, and on the development of sciences are of special interest.
28. *Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston*, Part 2. It contains chapters on the history of Kadampa (p.278), Kargyu pa (p.347) and Karmapa (p.425) sects. The chapter on the Karmapas is naturally the longest and most detailed, as the author was an Incarnate lama of the Karmapas.
29. *Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston*, Part 4. The chapter JA is reproduced photomechanically. The accuracy of details and the authenticity of its quotations have been attested by originals. It is a most reliable source for a better comprehension of the vital Council of Samye, which laid the foundation of Tibetan Buddhism.

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30. *The Samye Monastery.* Tibetan text edited by Lokesh Chandra with a foreword by Prof. G. Tucci. Samye is known as one of the most ancient temples of Tibet, where the edict of King Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan establishing Buddhism as the state religion was promulgated. Samye is the earliest monastic complex of Tibet, built as a great maṇḍala symbolizing her entry into a new cosmic order. The present text is a reproduction of a historic guide of this great monastery. It sheds welcome light on the various historical aspects of the Land of Snows. It has a foreword by Prof. G. Tucci.
31. *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia.* It is based on the Gñen-ḥbrel-dran-gsoḥi-me-loṅ of Ye-śes-thabs-mkhas. It contains a detailed English résumé, the original Tibetan text and alphabetic index of works written by the great polymaths. After outlining the three periods of the propagation of Buddhism in Mongolia, it records short biographies of 19 polymaths followed by complete lists of their collected works. Never has such a Tibetan history of Buddhist literature been published. Though it deals with a specific area it opens before us a new genre of Tibetan literature.

1962

32-38. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* Parts 1-7 in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira. It reproduces Buddhist divinities from the Mongolian Kanjur, vols.1-108.

1963

39. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* Part 8, depicts the pantheon of 500 deities based on the *Rin-lhan* of the Panchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal. The entire collection is divided into 23 sections, followed by two appendices delineating the Snar-thaṅ brgya-rtsa and the Vajrāvalī of Abhayākaragupta. The first 13 sections are covered in Part 8, and the rest in Part 9.
40-42. *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature,* Parts 1-3. The titles of 17,478 texts have been incorporated: all new to research. They are only non-canonical works, that is, those texts which are outside the Kanjur and Tanjur. Raria from Tibet proper, Kham, Amdo, Inner and Outer Mongolia, have been utilised. The third part includes the outstanding Tibetan bibliographical work Dpe-rgun-dkon-pa-ḥgaḥ-zhig-gi-tho-yig of Akhu Rimpoche Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho (1803-1875), which is valuable for its classified and extensive list of rare works.
43. *Lcaṅ-skya Khutukhtu Lalitavajra's Commentary on the Samantabhadra-caryā-praṇidhāna-rāja,* edited with an introduction. Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok (Sikkim). 4+xviii+62 pages.

1964

44. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* Part 9. See Part 8 for description.
45. *The Golden Annals of Lamaism,* being the original Tibetan text of the Hor chos-ḥbyuṅ of Blo-bzaṅ-rta-mgrin (1867-1937). The golden age of Mongolian chronicles of dharma closes with the Golden Annals in the twenties of the 20th century. It narrates the Early, the Middle, and the Later Propagation of the dharma in Mongolia. The final chapter is devoted in particular to the Khalkha country. On folio 190 the author gives his source-materials, some of which have been lost.

1965

46. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Parts* 10.
47. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Parts* 11.
Parts 10, 11 reproduce 340 remarkable rubbings of Arhats from the Lung-ch'üan ssu or "Dragon Spring Monastery" obtained from a monastery in Mukden (Manchuria). Its simple strong lines marking the folds of garments are in contrast to the powerful rendition of the visage against a void background.
48. *The biography of Mita yogi,* in Indo-Asian Studies 2: 161-208.
49. *Catalogue of the Bon-po Kanjur and Tanjur,* in collaboration with Lopon Tenzin Namdak, Indo-Asian Studies 2: 1-32.

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50. *The Amarakośa in Tibet,* being a new Tibetan version by the great grammarian of Situ in the 17th century. It is far superior to the canonical translation of Yar-luṅs lotsava. The facsimile edition is preceded by a detailed introduction of 56 pages. Amarakośa and other Sanskrit lexicons inspired a sizeable genre of Tibetan lexicons. The Mṅon-brjod Mkhas-paḥi rna-rgyan is one of the most widely used. It is also reproduced in facsimile in this edition.
51. *Sanskrit Bījas and Mantras in Japan,* in collaboration with Prof. RaghuVira (completed posthumously). It reproduces the rich heritage of bījas, varṇapāṭha, and entire mantras written in Siddham script in the perfection of their calligraphic art by eminences of Japan's cultural evolution, like Kōbō daishi (774-835 AD), Chisho daishi (814-891), Hui-kuo (746-805), Denkyō daishi (767-822), and several others. In the preface all the Siddham graffiti are transcribed and dated.
52. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 1.
53. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 2.
54. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 3.
55. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 4.

Bu-ston (1290-1364 AD) is of the greatest representatives of Tibetan thought; there is scarcely a branch of the sacred disciplines that he did not cultivate, and the entire spiritual tradition which was transmitted to Tibet was systematically arranged, discussed and sifted by him. He covered the entire field of Buddhism, from tantrism to logic, from dogmatics proper to grammar and rhetoric. Some of his works are important for the history of Lamaist art and iconography: the same is true of him in every other field.

1966

56. *The Kālacakra-tantra and Other Texts,* Parts 1.
57. *The Kālacakra-tantra and Other Texts,* Parts 2.

It comprises, inter alia, the fundamental Kālacakra-tantra in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian. The Sanskrit text is based on two Nepalese manuscripts, one of which is dated 1446 AD. It is in grand format of 28 cm×30 cm. It is the basic text of the vast Kālacakra literature in Tibetan and Mongolian.

58. *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace of Peking,* Part 1.
59. *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace of Peking,* Part 2.
60. *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace of Peking,* Part 3.
61. *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace of Peking,* Part 4.

It is an encyclopaedic quadrilingual collection of Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras in four languages in an intentional sequence of: Manchu the language of the Emperor, Chinese the language of the Empire, Mongol the language of the Imperial Preceptor and editor of the work, and Tibetan the language of Dharma. The mantras are in transcription. The collection was compiled by the Imperial Preceptor Lalitavajra during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1759 AD, and xylographed in 1773 on the 80th birthday of the Emperor's Mother. The collection of dhāraṇī-mantras reproduced here points to a fascinating investigation into the role of the Emperor's Mother, during the long reign of her great son Ch'ien-lung, in the efflorescence of the cultural trinity of art, literature, and architecture, emanating the three planes of kāya, vāk and citta.

62. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 5. It brings to a close the fundamental works of Bu-ston on Kālacakra literature. It comprises studies on the stotra, maṇḍala, sādhana, homa and other rites which were described in the Larger Mūla Kālacakra, which is not extant now.
63. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 6. It contains the exegesis of the Laghu Saṁvara-tantra in 700 granthas, derived from the now-lost stupendous Mūla-tantra in 300,000 granthas.

1967

64. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 7, with a Foreword by H.H. the Dalai Lama. It continues to deal with the Śaṁvara cycle: its sādhana, maṇḍala, homa, technical terms, abhiṣeka, pūjā, abhisamaya, etc.

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61. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* Part 12. It depicts the 26 maṇḍalas of the Vajrāvalī as detailed in the Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta, a teacher at the Nālandā University. These are supplemented by eight more maṇḍalas. The Preface (pages 1-80) identifies each and every deity in the maṇḍalas with the help of charts. The structural analysis and index afford a key to the unravelling of the deigraphic complexes in art and architecture.
62. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* Parts 13.
63. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* Parts 14.
64. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* Parts 15.
These three parts 13-15 illustrate 132 maṇḍalas pertaining to all the classes of tantras, namely the kriyā, caryā, yoga, anuttarayoga, advaya, and āmnāta tantras. The original thaṅkas come from the Monastery of Ṅor, a subsect of the Sakyapas. It is the first time that this rare series has been illustrated completely, providing an abundance of iconographic data, leading to a deeper appreciation of the art heritage of India, Tibet, and Mongolia.
65. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* Part 16 illustrates new icons from the Lhasa xylograph of the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra, ending with the Eight Great Caityas. From the Aṣṭasāhasrikā pantheon are illustrated the Twelve Buddhas, Mahāsiddhas, Eight Vidyādharas, Teachers of the Lam-rim tradition, and eminent gurus.
66. *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* Part 17 depicts the lines of transmission of tantric texts. It begins with the Guhyasamāja which stands at the head of the anuttara tantras. The presiding deities and teachers of the Śaṁvara, Bhairava, Cakrasaṁvara Heruka, Bhaiṣajyaguru traditions appear in print for the first time.
68. *Hymns to Tārā*, a trilingual edition in Tibetan, Mongolian and Sanskrit of the Namastāraikaviṁśati-stotra, with two illustrations at the beginning and end.
68. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 9 comprises four exegetical works on the Guhyasamāja, which represents the Mahāyoga upāya class of tantras.
69. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 10 continues the exegesis of the Guhyasamāja-tantra. Maṇḍala, stotra, homa, sādhana, adhiṣṭhāna, mystic dance, pañcakrama and balividhi of Guhyasamāja form a rich contribution to its literature. From p.349 onwards we find works on the Vajrapāṇi group of anuttara yoga tantras. It is followed by texts on various rites of the Yamāri group of tantras—its abhisamaya, maṇḍala, bali, homa, yantra and pūjā.

1968

70. *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking,* Part 5. Rituals of Amoghapāśa, and a dhāraṇī of Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.
71. *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking,* Part 6. A collection of dhāraṇīs to the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, Cintāmaṇi-cakra, Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Ṣaḍakṣara, Saptakoṭi-Buddha-mātṛkā Cundī, etc. and chapters 1-3 of the Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha.
72. *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking,* Part 7. Chapters 4-12 of the Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha.
73. *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking,* Part 8. Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha ends and there are several dhāraṇīs to Saptabuddha, Sumukha, Mahāmāyā, Mahādharma-dīpa-dhāraṇī-sūtra, etc.
74. *Yuthok's Treatise on Tibetan Medicine.* It reproduces the *Cha-lag bco-brgyad* in 18 chapters by gYu-thog the Younger who lived in the 11th century. It is a premier work of Tibetan medicine. Its first chapter gives the history of Āyurveda.
75. *History and Doctrine of Bon-po Niṣpanna-yoga,* with the collaboration of Lopon Tenzin Namdak. Fundamental Bonpo texts on the transmission, teaching, rites and deities of Bonpo Rdzogs-chen are reproduced. The first text is a series of important biographies of Bon-po lamas of the Rdzogs-pa-chen-po Zhaṅ-zhuṅ.
76. *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po.* It is a history of the Ḥbrug-pa bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect, written by Padma-dkar-po in 1575. It contains material that is not found in any of the available chojung, esp. information on the special esoteric teaching of the Kargyupa sects. It will throw light on the development of the Gorakhnāth tradition.

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77. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 11, deals with the yoga class of tantras. The first work is a comprehensive introduction to the teachings of the yoga tantras. The second work is a detailed (pp.185-832) sub-commentary on the Vajrodaya scholium on the Tattva-saṁgraha. It details the rites of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.
78. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 12, continues to elucidate the yoga tantras, whose basic tantra is the Tattva-saṁgraha. It summarises the Tattvālokakarī, has a number of works on the rites and delineation of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, stotras, pūjā-vidhi, and different types of Vajradhātu homas, etc.
79. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 13, deals with the explanatory tantras of the yoga class. The fundamental text is the Vajraśekhara-tantra. Besides, there are texts dealing with the Paramādya-tantra, and the Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana and its Sarvavid maṇḍala.

1969

80. *Prof. RaghuVira's Expedition to China,* in collaboration with Mrs. S.D. Singhal. Travel diary and photographs of Prof. RaghuVira's expedition to China and Chinese Central Asia.
81. *The Autobiography and Diaries of Si-tu Paṇ-chen.* It is one of the important sources for the intellectual history of the 18th century Lamaist world. Situ's life-long interest was śilpaśāstra, the techniques of painting and casting, grammatic sciences, history, astronomy and astrology. Situ's careful scholarship is attested by the enormous task of editing and correcting the Derge edition of the Kanjur in 1731-33. His work throws light on the history of Nepal, where he was received by king Jagajjayamalla of Kathmandu (1722-1736). It is an unusual Tibetan historical document.
82. *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge.* It outlines the physical world, sentient creatures, royal lineages, tribal structure of the world, eighteen lands of Jambudvīpa, the geographical divisions of Tibet, the myriarchies of Central Tibet, the languages and physical types of man, the origins and concepts of Buddhism, astrology, Bon religion, medicine, esoteric practices of Mantrayāna, philology and linguistics, importance of rhetoric and public speaking, types of songs, etc.
83. *The Life of the Saint of Gtsaṅ.* Gtsaṅ-smyon (1452-1507) is the most significant of the well known smyon-pa, a phenomenon in reform and innovation. His 12-volume collection of *Sñan-brgyud* is a signal contribution to Tibetan literature. His biography in the present volume is reproduced from 16th century blocks (1547 AD).
84. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 14 describes vidhis of the maṇḍalas of Navoṣṇīṣa, Mṛtyuñjaya, Vajra-pāṇi, Akṣobhya, Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara, Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, Raśmi-vimala, Amoghapāśa, etc.; and summarises Mañjuśrīkīrti's commentary on the Nāmasaṅgīti. It is basic for the understanding of maṇḍalas. At the end (pp.843-1013) is a treatise on the classification of tantras.
85. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 15 elaborates the characteristics of the four-fold classification of the tantras and their further sub-divisions. In fact, the whole volume is devoted to this topic and comprises only two titles, one of extensive (pp.1-610) and the other of medium length (pp.611-913).
86. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 16 gives the genealogies of the transmission of various schools of tantras besides mantras of 355 divinities, culled from different tantras. All the mantras are in Sanskrit and thus they constitute interesting Sanskrit texts from Tibet.
87. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 17 is a rich source of information on the mural art of Tibet. It describes at length the paintings that adorned the walls of different buildings at the Zha-lu monastery in Western Tibet where Bu-ston lived and which was the seat of his life work. The descriptions of maṇḍalas of different classes of tantras (namely, yoga, caryā and kriyā) add to better comprehension of the cosmics of Indo-Tibetan expression.

1970

88. *Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture.* Koṅ-sprul Blo-gros-mthaḥ-yas (1813-1899) produced during his lifetime an astonishing literary output of more than 90 volumes in the Dpal-spuṅs edition of his collected works. He represents the most important development in the new movement in the 19th century Lamaist world. The three volumes of the *Śes-bya-kun-khyab* reproduced herein

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compress the totality of Lamaist scholastic knowledge. The concise and authoritative statements of this Encyclopaedia must now become the starting point for future research, whether it be Tibetan painting or medicine, the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar in the Land of Snows, or obscure points of esoteric Buddhism. A detailed introduction of 87 pages is followed by a photographic reproduction of the three original xylographed volumes comprising 604+785+763 pages.

1971

89. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 18 is an extensive sub-commentary on Haribhadra's vṛtti on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (Tanjur 3793) popularly known as Bu-ston phar-phyin. It was a textbook in the monastic universities of Tibet, Mongolia and Transbaikalian Siberia.
90. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 19 continues the exegesis of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra and its relationship to Prajñāpāramitā literature. The major work in this volume is a detailed commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra.
91. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 20 contains a study of the Tathāgata-garbha theory, commentary on the Abhidharma-samuccaya (pp.79-748) and an exposition of Pratītya-samutpāda or Conditioned Origination.
92. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 21 is mainly devoted to the general exposition of the Vinaya and a detailed commentary on the Vinaya-sūtra of Guṇaprabha (Tanjur 4117), as also a commentary of the Ekottara-karma-śataka of the same author.
93. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 22 continues treatises on the Vinaya: practical rules for novices, discipline for the laity and the nuns. The fourth and last is an extensive (p.211-622) life of Lord Śākyamuni compiled from canonical texts.
94. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 23 relates anecdotes about the behaviour of monks (pp.1-838) and nuns (pp.839-955), culled from the Vinayapiṭaka.
95. *An Illustrated Japanese Manuscript on Mudrās and Mantras.* It pertains to the Mahākāruṇika-dhāraṇī *(Daihishin da-ra-ni)* translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (705-774) during the T'ang dynasty. It is a eulogy to Avaloki-teśvara, the great Lord of Compassion. The Japanese manuscript depicts the objects held in the forty hands, followed by mantras of each of them written in the Siddham script.
96. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 24 comprises commentaries on Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇa-viniścaya, Yogaśataka, and Bu-ston's famous history of Buddhism in India and Tibet.
97. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 25 is Bu-ston's extensive treatise of 1086 pages on Durgasiṁha's commentary on the Kalāpa system of Sanskrit grammar.
98. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 26 has the epistles of Bu-ston and his fundamental catalogue of the Zhalu Tanjur and also of the Rgyud-ḥbum.
99. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 27 has the works of Sgra-tshad-pa, especially his sub-commentary on Bu-ston's exegesis of the Kālacakra-tantra.
100. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 28 contains the minor writings of Bu-ston's disciple Sgra-tshad-pa. The major works herein are the explanation of the Tathāgata-garbha theory, and the Tanjur catalogue. This part brings to a close the Collected Works of the polymath Bu-ston and his disciple Sgra-tshad-pa.
101. *Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet.* A facsimile edition of two Sanskrit manuscripts from the Narthang monastery, namely Kālacakra-tantra and Suvarṇavarṇ-āvadāna. This Kālacakra manuscript is the earliest known.
102. *An Illustrated Tibeto-Mongolian Materia Medica of Āyurveda,* edited from a xylograph in the collection of the Buddhist Patriarch of the Soviet Union. The author Ḥjam-dpal-rdo-rje belongs to the early 19th century. The illustrations are valuable for the identification of herbs. The depiction of various surgical instruments used in Āyurveda is unique.
103. *The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas,* reproduces the woodcuts of the deities of the Mahākaruṇā and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas, which go back to Ken-i's monochrome copy done in 1035 AD. A long introduction deals with various facets of the history of the Esoteric Art of Japan.

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1972

104, 105. *Sanskrit Manuscripts from Japan,* vols.1, 2. Facsimile edition of 55 Sanskrit manuscripts written in the Siddham script. These manuscripts belong to the Shingon tradition of Mantrayāna which was introduced into Japan in 806 by Kōbō Daishi. In the last century Prof. Max Müller had obtained and published a few Sanskrit texts from Japan. Thereafter no scholar undertook to search out Sanskrit manuscripts in Japan; hence the historic significance of the present discovery.

1973

106. *Buryat Annotations on the Lam-rim,* is a rare exegesis on the system of 'Graduated Path' of Buddhist insight, experience and realisation introduced into Tibet by Atīśa Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna in the 11th century. The work of Atīśa was restructured by Tsoṅkhapa in his Lam-rim chen-mo which is profoundly abstruse. It was commented upon by the first Panchen Lama (1567?-1662). The present work is a collection of notes on it made by Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho in 1908 in a Siberian monastery.

107. *Buddha in Chinese Woodcuts* reproduces the woodprinted Shih-chia ju-lai ying-hua shih-chi, a Chinese biography of Lord Buddha. The meaning of the title is: 'Deeds of Śākyamuni the transformation-body of Tathāgata'. The illustrated biography was xylographed in 1787-1793 under the patronage of the Manchu Prince Yung-shan, a great grand-child of Emperor K'ang-hsi who ruled from AD 1661 to 1722. It was based on an earlier work of the Ming Period (AD 1368-1664). The biography comprises quotations and illustrations on opposite pages. It runs into 200 pages: with 100 pages of full-size woodcut illustrations of important episodes in the life of Lord Buddha and the spread of his Dharma.

108. *Collected Works of Longdol Lama.* Longdol Lama Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ lived in the 18th century and dealt with a variety of disciplines. The information or elucidations given by him are not available anywhere. His collected works form a thesaurus of the richesse of Buddhist philosophy, technical terms of Mantrayāna, Kālacakra, architecture (of the Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa), transcendental philosophy of the Prajñāpāramitā, logic, grammar, kāvya, metrics, lexicography, explanations of scientific terms in technological, medical, astrological and astronomical works. The thob-yig provides invaluable materials for the development of art and philosophy. On pages 1150-1214 are given the genealogies of eminent scholars of India and Tibet. Pages 1458-1463 deal with methods to test jewels.

109-118. *Mongolian Kanjur,* vols.1-10. The 108 volumes of the Mongolian Kanjur symbolise the cultural symphony of India and Mongolia over the centuries, embodying the Mongolian versions of 1161 Sanskrit works, most of which have perished in India. "There are more than six thousand Sanskrit texts preserved in the Mongolian language, ranging from Pāṇini's grammar, Amarakośa, Kālidāsa's works, Āyurvedic treatises, to Bodhicaryāvatāra. The Mongolian people regard these Sanskrit works as the 'pearl of their literature'. The American Mongolist Dr. Stanley Frye wrote: "I wish to congratulate you on the wonderful work you have done. As I wrote to you previously, this edition of the Kanjur now being made available to scholars all over the world is certainly the greatest contribution to Buddhist studies of this century. Buddhist scholars will be grateful to you for centuries to come."

1974

119-123. *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts,* vols.6-10 reproduce the lost Sanskrit texts of the Vinayavastu, Mahāpratisarā, Ratnaketu-sūtra, avadāna texts which are a mine for the evolution of Sanskrit prose, Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra, Samādhi-rāja, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (or Lotus Sutra) and several other works which became the foundation of the vast Buddhist literary heritage of the Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Indonesian peoples. Their relevance for Asian culture is unique.

124, 125. *Sādhanamālā of the Panchen Lama,* vols.1, 2. Reproduction of the Rin-lhan of the Panchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1781-1852). This voluminous work is a source for Trans-Himalayan pantheonic albums. It puts their apparent amorphousness into well-knit structure, inspiring their delineations with life. It affords a deeper understanding of the meditational contexts which gave rise to the scintillating world of Vajrayāna art.

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126. *The Blue Annals* (Deb-ther-sṅon-po) were completed by Ḥgos lotsava Gzhon-nu-dpal in AD 1478. Ever since, it has been a fundamental work on the history of Buddhism in Tibet, extensively cited by Tibetan historians and modern European scholars. Its English translation by George Roerich published in 1949 and 1953 has further rendered it indispensable for several Asian disciplines. The Tibetan text in original is reproduced here for the first time.

127-130. *Mongolian Kanjur,* vols.11-24 comprise text nos.130-744.

1975

131-139. *Collected Works of Sum-pa-mkhan-po Ye-śes-dpal-ḥbyor* (1704-1788) include his well-known history of Buddhism in India, Tibet, China and Mongolia. "Sum-pa-mkhan-po was one of the outstanding scholars of the Lamaist world, a man of great learning and one with a critical mind. The study of his works is indispensable for a better knowledge of Lamaist scholarship in the eighteenth century". (J.W. de Jong). Reproduced from xylographs obtained from the Üsütü-yin sume monastery of Koke-khota the capital of Inner Mongolia. The present edition will help to understand history, geography, philosophy, scapulomancy, medicine and other disciplines of 18th century Transhimalaya.

140. *Sudhana's Way to Enlightenment.* It reproduces two Chinese works on the pilgrimage of Sudhana throughout India, to 52 teachers in search of Supreme Enlightenment. The depiction of this spiritual journey of Sudhana was the prime expression of the Avataṁsaka school and enjoyed wide-spread popularity from Indonesia to Khotan in Central Asia, China and Japan. The earliest representations are the Indonesian reliefs on the Borobudur (about AD 800). The present work reproduces Fo-kuo's work entitled Wên-shu chih-nan t'u-tsan "pictures and eulogies of (Sudhana's journey) in accordance with the guidance of Mañjuśrī". He wrote this work around AD 1101. It is the earliest surviving illustrated Chinese work on the Gaṇḍa-vyūha and an outstanding specimen of the developed technique of printing during the Sung dynasty.

Another text reproduced here is the Kanon dai-shi ji-yo gojusan gensho, comprising 53 illustrations of Avalokiteśvara in graceful lāsya (*ji*) style(*yo*). It is a late attempt at syncretism of the Avataṁsaka-sūtra and Avalokiteśvara. Lovely apparitions of supernatural radiance.

141. *Dharmatāla's Annals of Buddhism.*

142-144. *The Ocean Annals of Amdo,* vols.1-3. The Deb-ther rgya-mtsho or Amdo chojung reproduced from the original xylographs obtained in Siberia. It was written by the Zhabs-druṅ of the Labrang monastery in 1833, enlarged in 1849 and supplemented in 1865. It is a general history of Buddhism in Amdo from the earliest times and comprises detailed annals of monasteries on the northern and southern sides of the Rma-chu river.

145. *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti,* Sanskrit text in Soyombo and Tibetan transcription and Tibetan translation. Reproduced from a Siberian xylograph. It is the only known instance of a Sanskrit text in Soyombo script which was created on the basis of Devanagari in the 17th century by the Jibcundampa of the Mongols.

146-152. *Mongolian Kanjur,* vols.25-31 comprise texts nos.745-751.

1976

153-166. *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking,* vols.9-22: a quadri-lingual encyclopaedia of Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras compiled by Lcaṅ-skya qutukhtu Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje (1717-1786) the illustrious preceptor of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung. The mantras are transcribed in Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan. This collection provides a mine of information to evaluate and verify the reconstruction of early Chinese phonology worked out from other sources. It can afford an approximate phonetic value of ideographs in various periods of Chinese speech, in the context of their correct Sanskrit pronunciation being known.

The Dhāraṇī-collection can be worked into a corpus of fragments of lost Sanskrit texts, which will aid critical editions of Sanskrit citations in Central Asian, Tibetan, Mongolian, Sino-Japanese, Indonesian and other literatures of Asia.

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167. *Kashgar Manuscript of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra,* is one of the earliest complete Sanskrit texts to be discovered from the sands of Central Asia. Prof. Heinz Bechert hails it in the following words: "'The publication of a facsimile edition of the famous Kashgar manuscript of Saddharma-puṇḍarīka is a most important event in the history of Buddhist studies as well as of Indology. Professor Lokesh Chandra deserves high praise for his continuous efforts which have resulted in the publication of this book. The Lotus Sutra i.e. the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka needs no introduction. It is, together with the Bhagavad Gītā, the New Testament and the Koran, one of the greatest books of the religious history of mankind."

168. *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (i) pre-Canonical Mongolian text and (ii) Tibeto-Mongolian commentary by Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan. It is the earliest known complete Mongolian text of the great didactic work of Śāntideva. It is very close to the 16th century fragments excavated from a ruined stupa at Olon sume-yin toor in Inner Mongolia.

169-175. *Mongolian Kanjur,* vols.32-38, include *inter alia,* the Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in Mongolian.

1977

176. *Buddhist Philosophical Systems.* It is a reproduction of the Grub-mthaḥ by the Second Lcaṅ-skya qutukhtu Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje, who lived from 1717 to 1786. He was a close confidant of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung (1735-1796) with whom he had studied. In 1745 Lcaṅ-skya bestowed upon the Emperor the tantric initiation of Cakrasaṁvara. During the period between 1736 and 1746 Lcaṅ-skya began writing his philosophical masterpiece, the present Grub-mthaḥi rnam-par-bzhag-pa gsal-bar bśad-pa thub-bstan lhun-poḥi mdzes-rgyan. The initial stimulus was perhaps his interest in vijñānavāda philosophical traditions preserved by the Chinese Buddhist schools. The present reproduction is of inestimable value for the understanding of Buddhist philosophy.

177. *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra,* original Sanskrit text. It is the fundamental text of Zen Buddhism which was given by Bodhidharma to his chief Chinese disciple Hui-k'e as containing the essential teachings of Zen.

178. *Kriyā-samuccaya* by Jagaddarpaṇa alias Darpaṇācārya is a major compendium on Tantric ritual. It is important for monastic architecture, the drawing technique of maṇḍalas, and various Tantric initiations. It has extensively influenced the Tibetan exegetical tradition. The Samuccaya was translated into Tibetan by Mahāpaṇḍita Mañjuśrī of the Vikramaśīla university and lotsava Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. The facsimile edition will initiate new studies on art and architecture.

179. *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture,* edited by Lokesh Chandra. It contains articles by Penti Aalto (Finland), Damdinsuren (Mongolia), Milena Hübschmannova (Czechoslovakia), Leon N. Hurvitz (Canada), Yukei Matsunaga (Japan), Lokesh Chandra (India), A.D.T.E. Perera (Śrīlaṅkā), Rinchen (Mongolia), Valentina Stache-Rosen (Germany), Mark Tatz (Canada), Gy. Wojtilla (Hungary), Kamala Ratnam (India), and Eleanor Moron (USA).

180. *Vajrāvalī,* facsimile edition. It was written by Abhayākaragupta in the twelfth century. He was the abbot of Vikramaśīla during the reign of Pāla king Rāmapāla (1084-1130). Tibetan scholars risked the hazards of perilous journeys to study under him. The Vajrāvalī was translated into Tibetan by Ḥkhor-lo-grags under the guidance of the author himself. It is a prime text in Tibet and Mongolia for the ritual and painting of maṇḍalas on scrolls.

181-190. *Mongolian Kanjur,* vols.39-48. Comprises texts bearing the consecutive numbers 759-796. Some of the texts are very long, for instance, the Pañca-viṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā extends into four volumes (38-41) and runs into 2700 pages.

1978

191. *Mudrās in Japan,* symbolic hand-postures in Japanese Mantrayāna or the esoteric Buddhism of the Shingon denomination, in collaboration with Sharada Rani. It is a manual of mudrās for the 18-step rite, Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu-maṇḍalas, Acala homa, and its other half illustrates mudrās to various deities as well as dhāraṇīs and sūtras. It opens up a new field of comparative studies in ritual, Tantric Art and the Performing Arts.

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192-220. *Mongolian Kanjur,* vols.49-77, comprise texts nos.797-956.

1979

221-222. *Multilingual Buddhist Texts*, vols.1, 2, in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu. These manuscripts and xylographs have remained hidden away in the Imperial Palace at Peking. Their publication opens up a new vista in the study of cross-cultural literary developments.

223-253. *Mongolian Kanjur,* vols.78-108 comprise texts numbered consecutively from 957-1161. It completes the Mongolian Buddhist Tripiṭaka. These works are implicit with deep meaning for India and many other countries, supplying historic evidence of shared cultural interdependence of values and forms, whose manifold strands today lie disseminated far apart. It will usher in a new order in the academic world wherein precision will replace over-generalisation.

1980

254-263. *Multilingual Buddhist Texts,* vols.3-12. The international journal Manjurica has welcomed the project: "This unique material will fill the gap in our knowledge of Manchu Buddhist literature".

264. *Studies in Indo-Asian Art & Culture*

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274. *Quadrilingual Mahāvyutpatti* (Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese-Mongolian lexicon of Buddhist terms)

275-278. *Collected Works of Jaya-paṇḍita Blo-bzaṅ-ḥphrin-las*, vols.1-4

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289. *Works of Bstan-dar Sṅags-rams-pa*

290, 291. *Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*, vols.1, 2

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316-323. *Catalogue of the Mongolian Tanjur*, vols.1-8
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581. *Sanskrit-Chinese Lexicon:* Fan Fan Yu, the first known lexicon of its kind dated AD 517, transcribed, reconstructed and translated by †RaghuVira and his pupil Yamamoto Chikyo.

2008

582. *Tibetan art*. New Delhi: Niyogi Books.

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583. *A Comprehensive English-Hindi Dictionary* (Supplementary Volume) by †RaghuVira, edited posthumously.
584. *Buddhism: A Way of Values* — a dialogue on valorization across time and space. Co-authored with Daisaku Ikeda. [English translation of the previously published volume in Japanese (2002) and Chinese (2005)]. New Delhi: Eternal Ganges Press Pvt. Ltd.

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585. *Life of Lord Buddha*, compiled by Monk Pao-ch'eng from Chinese Sutras and illustrated in woodcuts in the Ming period (co-editor Sushama Lohia)

586. *Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet:* 1. Vimalaprabhā commentary on the Kālacakra-tantra 2. Pañcarakṣa; [reproduction.]

587. *Buddhism: Aesthetics, Time and Quintessence*

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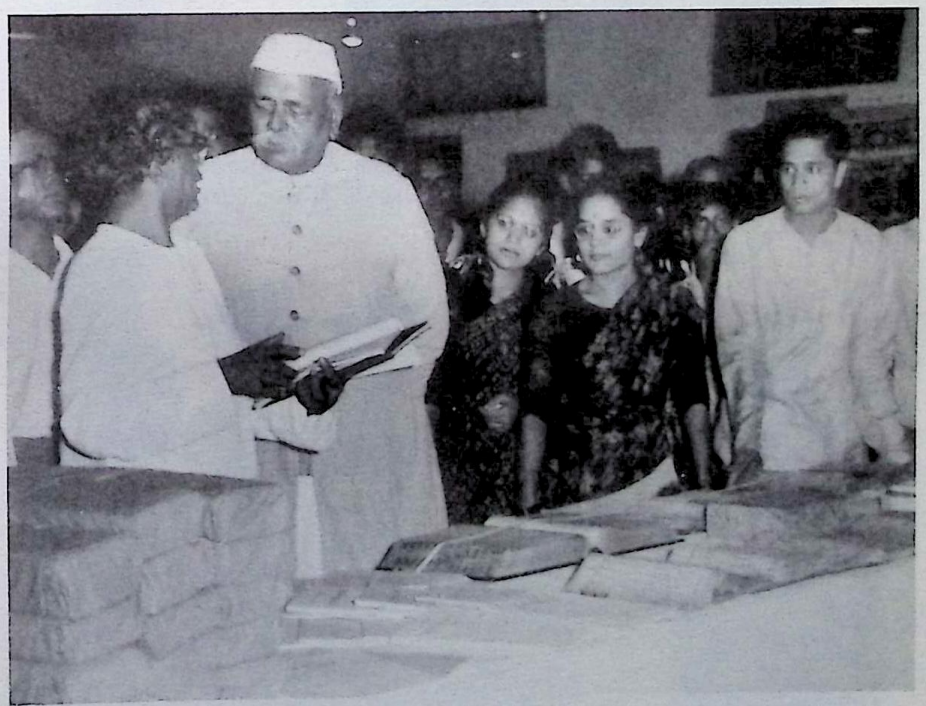
Dr. Lokesh Chandra (in the background) with his father Prof. RaghuVira, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the first Vice-President of India at the inauguration of an Exhibition of the manuscripts and antiquities from Prof. RaghuVira's China expedition. [1955]



Dr. Lokesh Chandra with his father Prof. RaghuVira and the Home Minister Shri G.B. Pant visiting the same Exhibition. To the right: his sister Dr. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, and his wife Dr. Sharada Rani.

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Prof. Lokesh Chandra receiving the Padma Bhushan Award from the President of India Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam. [2006]

Prof. Lokesh Chandra and his niece ManjuShree, Japan. [2008]

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ISBN 978-81-7742-109-5 Rs.2500

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From Beyond the Eastern Horizon is a collection of essays published in honour of Professor Lokesh Chandra, on the opportune occasion of him having witnessed a thousand full moons, which in the tradition of the East earns him the epithet *Sahasra Candradarśi*.

Following a biographical sketch of Prof. Chandra by his niece Manjushree, the book offers a varied range of papers written by scholars who are all known for their contributions to the study of ancient Indian cultural influences abroad, particularly insular and mainland Southeast Asia. Their essays cover the fields of art history, temple architecture, Old Javanese and Sanskrit literature, religion and ancient politics. The rich texture of this felicitation volume is a fitting tribute to Professor Chandra, Director of the International Academy for Indian Culture, who has authored volumes of path-breaking research works, including the well-known series of *Cultural Horizons of India*. Focussing on the eastern horizon of Southeast Asia, this volume covers only a segment of Prof. Chandra's wide-ranging scholarly activities and achievements.

The eminent scholars who have contributed to this felicitation volume are Andrea Acri, Michaela Appel, Ni Wayan Pasek Aryati, Clara Brakel, Robert L. Brown, Amrit Gomperts, Endang Sri Hardiati, Thomas M. Hunter, Roy Jordaan, Subhash Kak, Cecelia Levin, Mark Long, Willem van der Molen, Kate O'Brien, Stuart O. Robson, Malini Saran, Jeffrey Sundberg, S. Supomo, A. Teeuw, Donald M. Weatherbee, Hiram Woodward, and Peter Worsley

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